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# American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

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Official Journal of the  
American Sociological Society

Volume 8

Number 2

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# American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

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The Official Journal of the American Sociological Society



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# American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

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## TERMINOLOGY

ALBERT G. KELLER

*Yale University*

Terminology is a good servant, but a poor master. There has been far too much of it in sociology, which must cultivate clearness and simplicity if it is to reach the plain people, the ultimate wielders of social power. Sociology has again and again sought to beautify itself with terminological frills that have caused the discreet to mourn. Coinage of new terms should never be lavish or prodigal. The new should always bear the burden of proof that it is needed. "In der Beschränkung zeigt sich der Meister."

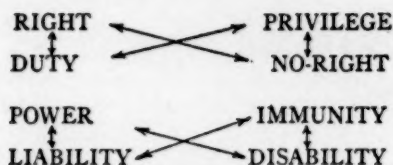
THE ADOPTION of technical terminology is necessary in certain sciences, because things and relations recurrently turn up for which no name exists. Hence new words, such as "proton," "stratosphere," "poliomyelitis," "ampere." This condition does not obtain very widely in the social sciences. You run into situations occasionally where terms like "avunculate," "couvade," "shaman," seem to be called for; but in the main, social phenomena and relationships have been so long known and new ones are so rare that activity in term-coining can be spared. If anything in the way of elaborate or pretentious terminology is developed, it becomes a kind of gratuitous jargon.

Nevertheless, and although it seems advisable always to use customary terms according to current usages when that is possible, for whatever enlightenment is attained in social matters ought to be popularized as soon as it can be, the social scientist has his own problem and perplexity about terms. This is because he is forced to point up a sprawling customary usage and often to pin ambiguity down to some special signification. It might be easier to select new designa-

tions out of the Greek; but if that is done the general reader, to whom the social scientist is bound to address himself as the laboratory scientist is not, will and must lose interest. Even college students rebel against technical terminology in the social sciences, whereas they expect to acquire and use it in, say, anatomy or chemistry. This situation lies in the folkways. It is generally referred, like many another liking or prejudice, to "human nature."

Some years ago, a professor of law came to the conclusion that legal terminology lacked precision. Especially did he become exasperated at the looseness of the term "right." Two lawyers arguing a case repeatedly failed, he asserted, to join fruitful issue because each was using the term in a sense different from that of his antagonist; even worse, each was employing "right" in several senses within his own argument. There was not only inconsistency between them, but each was inconsistent with himself. The professor, Hohfeld, labored out for himself a kind of chart of legal analysis which has commended itself to not a few of his colleagues. I reproduce a set of his pairings, in

illustration: vertical arrows indicate opposites, slanting ones correlatives.



If an analysis of this sort has been found useful in the law, where terms are supposed to have been forced into precision, it would seem to be called for even more insistently in the field of general social science. But no one, least of all the present writer, has yet volunteered for that special, trying, and perhaps impossible task. A committee of the American Sociological Society has listed some sixty terms representing, it seems, the irreducible minimum that beginning students "should be able to understand and use intelligently." Certain "methodologists," conceiving themselves the recipients of a "call" or mission "to arrange things," have produced monstrosities of analysis that move to amusement rather than confer enlightenment. Nobody, not even their colleagues, has paid any attention to their productions. In what follows, I am illustrating the uncertainties of current terminology, not proposing any comprehensive system of definitions.

Take the term "sociology" itself. Its vagueness is indicated by the adjectives that have been attached to it, such as "rural," "Christian," "psychological," "educational," and so on. To preface "physics" with any such attributives would be laughable. Sociology is supposed to treat of almost anything that has a social aspect, even ductless glands: it would be scarcely a stretch into the absurd to label certain publications "glandular sociology." That "sociology" is conceived to cover anything and everything is evidenced by the claims of certain enthusiasts that sociology is the science of all the sciences. That brings it into baleful proximity with philosophy. It seems often that those who want a real science of society had better take recourse to the Greek—only that language does not possess anything that will do. "Ethnos" and "Polis" were about the

only labels for social aggregates that the Greeks possessed, and both are preempted. There is left only τὸ κοινόν or ἡ κοινωνία, which would figure almost as grotesquely as the term for economics, the science of wealth, once did when designated as "Plutology," "Koinonology" (or Caenonology)—the modern Greek term is "Koinōnologia"—would be more unwieldy and ridiculous than the "Societology" (it should be, etymologically, "Societatology") with which Sumner once toyed for awhile. This is a great pity, for an accurate term is much needed.

One of the watchwords of the day is "Capitalism." It would seem that all capitalists are rogues. But if one looks into the complaints and objurgations, he finds that nobody at all is against capital. Everybody wants it, and all but the hopelessly feeble minded or inert strive to get it and, having succeeded, to keep it. Upon examination, it is found that all the uproar is concerned with the division of wealth. But wealth, when divided, is *property*. The African in the wood-pile is property, not capital. The objection is not to capitalism or capitalists, but to propertyism and propertyists. Indeed, the hostility is not even against all property, but only private property—and not even against that is the enmity one of "lock, stock, and barrel." Certainly no one wants to see toothbrushes shared, even though one of them may be readily admitted to be wealth. Well, why not clarify this confusion by inventing a term for propertyism and the propertyist—say, "chrematism" and "chrematist"? That is an impracticable suggestion doubtless, but it might envisage an enlightening precision.

While touching the topic of sharing, let us consider "primitive communism." Strictly speaking, there is no such thing, and the term "communism" is, in the phrase quoted, a rationalization—that is, a transference of the name for the modern sharing theory, including its utopian trappings, into a primitive setting where there was no theorizing at all, but merely a sharing-practice. That practice was, under certain primitive conditions, an adjustment that came about, like other such adaptations, out of the unpremeditated



reactions men came to make in the practical business of living. That is a good reason for differentiating between primitive practice and modern theorizing and "planning" by calling the unconsciously developed practice "communalism." Communalism is an observable adjustment, all through history. Every home and town exhibits it. But there is no theory about it. No family member has to be a "Communist" to call the house and its contents "ours," any more than he has to be a convinced and theoretical "chrematist" when he defends his rights, right there in the house, to his own private shirt.

Another term that straggles is "religion," with its corresponding adjective and adverb. If Galton calls upon us to make a "religion" of eugenics, what does he mean? Merely to be mighty serious about it. He might more exactly have said: "Treat engenic as if it were your religion." That is to say, he was using a metaphor, an analogy, all the time. This illustrates the danger of confusing likeness with identity, a pitfall on the edge of which Spencer tottered when he began to love his "biological analogy" not wisely but too well.

This case of "religion" leads one to recall that it is intellectually dishonest to alter the meaning of a common term, without due notice, and then pass it back into circulation. Very few people, nowadays, examine every piece of paper money they take in, to see whether someone had been tampering with its several identifying labels. It is similar with terms: we take them as they run, in the current sense. It is not right to slip a counterfeit over on the unsuspecting; to do that is intellectual sharp practice.

If there is anything that religion has always meant, it is relation with the supernatural. It does not deal with eugenic statistics or anything else strictly intellectual. It is a matter of faith. Sumner once described an institution as "an idea plus a structure." The structure mirrors, objectivizes, translates, and fixes the idea. The idea, in the case of religion, is concerned with the supernatural, and so must be the structure—churches, ceremonies, creeds, priests—if they are to represent the idea, the Faith, faith-

fully. The present confusion is illustrated by the common sentiment that those who want to discuss religion may avoid confusion and futility by agreeing first, if they can, on a definition of religion.

Again, there is the term "class." Anybody may propose any connotation he pleases for any word. That is understood. As someone has said, if you can get enough people to call a horse a frog, it will presently be known as a frog. But whatever of this sort is attempted should be done openly; it is not permissible to begin, without warning, to speak of a horse as a frog, when "frog" already means, in current language, something definite.

As to "class," especially in the compound "class-conflict," there is imported into the term, when used of population-divisions in this country, something alien and inexact. In India, where "class" has crystallized into "caste," there are real and mutually exclusive stratifications, out of which one, having been born where he is, cannot hope to rise—though he may fall. The whole structure is stiffened by religious dogma, the highest, priestly, Brahmin class seeing to it that the dogma does not lose power. That this system of status is giving way under the incessant teasings and "chisellings" of an industrial and commercial economy, is well known.

In mediaeval Europe there was likewise a régime of status. A boy stayed where he was born, pursuing the trade of his father, and being known as, say, John the Bowman, as his sire was William the Bowman—hence, when the "the" drops out, the family name of Bowman. About the only ladders by which one could climb above his class were the army and the church. Certain ethnical or religious groups were set off by themselves, in ghettos. Isolation was maintained by "class"-endogamy. This system no longer prevails in full vigor, even in the old countries; but they have a tradition and feeling for class-distinction that is hard to lose.

When the Europeans went out on the frontier, they took with them, not only this tradition but also certain existing distinctions. They were not long in losing them under the levelling conditions of the frontier which made toward democracy and away

from the old aristocratic order. Social levelings occurred upon all the temperate-climate frontiers. No one needed to be a hired man if he had the energy to move on a few miles and clear some land. This colonial tale has been told and need not be rehearsed here.

In the course of time, as the new lands filled up and population conditions approached those of Europe, the frontier-folkways were modified toward the European type. But they did not revert from contract to status, to employ Spencer's shorthand, along the same line they had followed in moving from status to contract. There are no real "classes" in the new countries, here or elsewhere. The essence of "class" is status, fixation, difficulty or impossibility of shifting from one birth-stratum to another. To use the term as descriptive of conditions in this country is merely to employ metaphor. That is not an error solely, but also a danger; for the tendency to metamorphose a figure of speech into an identity, by importing into the real issue all sorts of sentiments natural to the alien issue chosen as analogical—as a device in exposition, not for discovering of truth—is liable to create a state of mind, involving envy, greed, and hatred, and also the expression of those sentiments in militant fashion. The loose use of the terms "class," alone or in compounds like "class-struggle," to describe American issues, is indefensible from any standpoint except the interested one of the agitator.

"Any survey of recent industrial warfare in the United States will disclose that most of it has had its source in the factional quarrels of labor and no more represents a class struggle than does the split between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. Which suggests that only those see a class struggle convulsing the country who want to."<sup>1</sup>

If writers used the term "class" solely with reference to ethnic groups of high racial "visibility," such as the Negroes or even the Jews, I should not be discussing the term at all. But that is not the case. And, even with such ethnic groupings in mind, I think it correct to say that there is no genuine class-

system here. What is here is the interest-group. The individual's interest, as he sees it, binds him with others who have the same interest: his union, his church, his party, and so on. But he is not chained to any system of social status thereby. He can, by our code, leave any or all of his interest-groups whenever he likes. Nothing comparable to religious sanction is likely to impede him much, except, perhaps, as to his church-affiliation. He can move out of one set of interest-groups into another. Plenty of Americans have begun "low" and finished "high" in the social scale. Inter-marriage between members of interest-groups is possible, as not between genuine classes, much less between castes. There are no Untouchables. All that is left of genuine "class" in this country (as indicated by the slang terms "classy," or "some class") is a recognition of degrees of success, generally material success and its identifying marks.

It is merely a darkening of counsel to declaim about the "farmer-class," the "banker-class," the "white-collar class," the "laboring class." Change "class" to "interest," and you do not import a mass of perilous irrelevancies into the ensuing discussion. The instability of whatever social distinctions actually exist is indicated by the proverbs about so-and-so many generations "from shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves," about how any native-born boy may be President, and so on. Edifying biographies on the order of "From the Log-cabin to the White House" emphasize the opportunity offered to individual initiative to surmount "class" barriers. The genius of this country is the opportunity accorded to initiative. No cut-and-dried theory has ever, as yet, opposed its play, though incidental and accidental obstacles have risen briefly to oppose it. Because America has been thoroughly committed in theory to a régime of contract and always suspicious of anything approaching one of status, it has been to many of those oppressed and limited by traditions of status a land of freedom, where the humblest could hope to rise in the world.

Anything that operates to weaken this enviable and deserved reputation is a menace. Words are often as dangerous as acts.

<sup>1</sup> "Bridges's Class Struggle," ed. in *N.Y. Herald-Tribune*, Aug. 5, 1939.

"Words," says Kipling,<sup>2</sup> "are the most powerful drug used by mankind. Not only do words infect, egotize, narcotize and paralyze, but they enter into and color the minutest cells of the brain."

One of these verbal inexactitudes is "class." It is a metaphor merely, as is "wage-slavery," and as easily unmasked—all that one has to do is to confront it with the real thing. It should be tabooed in any serious discussion of American social conditions. Any science of society should confine it to where it belongs, not letting it slop all over the surrounding territory. One cannot make it over, yet a while at any rate. It cannot be stripped of its traditional connotations. They cling to it like the spines of the brown tail moth to a tender skin. The result of its use is a similar itch, irritability, and even a resort to wild and furious scratchings.

Of late, there has been a lot of paper in circulation upon which is printed what is called "poetry." In order to admit it into the storehouse where repose the productions of hitherto unquestioned poets, the definition of "poetry" must evidently be altered. The query arises in the minds of many as to whether there ought not to be a new term for these recent productions, and a storehouse for them, all to themselves. It would seem that if this new creation is really poetry, then what has counted as such, from Homer nearly to the present is not. Something the same may be said as to art and music. This case is not on all fours with the previous ones, but is of the same genus. At any rate, it helps carry the point, which is that we are always using terms within the social range that mean quite different things to different people. It would be perilous to allow such a situation to prevail in certain other ranges—for instance, if arsenic were not always labelled arsenic but sometimes sodium or sugar.

Dr. Johnson remarked that the words "pamphlet" and "book" generally meant prose because so few pamphlets and books contained poetry, concluding: "We under-

stand what is most general, and we name the less frequent."<sup>3</sup>

The precept that warns us to be as untechnical as possible in dealing with social issues is sound enough. But if we are not to invent new terms, we must certainly set a definition upon the current ones—and it is a hard thing indeed to induce readers to accept and remember definitions. If we classify and define with great exhaustiveness, as does Pareto, to the extent of using symbols of an almost mathematical nature for our categories, we can expect few readers; for they must make themselves a key to such labels as "Residues, IV—B2," and few have the patience to do that, or to be constantly turning back, or to dodge that imposition by making themselves a key. Some compromise must be made between technical exactitude and nontechnical comprehensibility—a choice always wiser, I think, as it leans toward the latter.

To illustrate what appears to be a reasonable coining of new terms, let us begin with "mores." That it was needed seems evident from its steady gain in popularity until it has actually reached (1937) the cross-word puzzle—though, as is usually the case with new terminology, it is often wrongly or unintelligently employed. There was, preceding its launching, only the current term "custom," which sprawled all over the place and could not very well be rendered stable in any special sense by arbitrary definition. Recourse to the Greek "ethos" was impossible, with "ethics" holding squatter-sovereignty; so the Latin term, itself not very definite, was taken over and assigned a special meaning which it could hold to, because its foreignness precluded its ravelling out into all sorts of fringe. "Mores" is not altogether happy because of its singular, "mos," and its adjectival form, which is almost equivalent to "ethical." "Folkway" is almost self-explanatory, but it lacks an adjectival form altogether. Despite all this, the necessity for the two terms seems demonstrable, and the terms themselves adequate enough to have caught on.

<sup>2</sup> Speech to the Royal College of Surgeons, reported in *N.Y. Times*, Mar. 22, 1925.

<sup>3</sup> Boswell, J., *Diary*, entry for April 25, 1778.



Another word clearly called for is "societal," even though it lacerates the sensitiveness of British Purists as an uncouth "Americanism." "Social" is too general, and it cannot be held to a chosen definition. "Societal" means "of a society," and is an adjective imperatively demanded if there is to be any science of society, or even any talk about having one.

And I believe that the few other inventions that were reluctantly adopted in *The Science of Society*—"projectivism," "monogyny" ("miagyny," after the model of "henotheism," but using the feminine form of the Greek word for "one," might have been more exact, if not more felicitous), "eidolism." There was no clean-cut term conveying the idea of the future life as conceived in terms of this life, but only the awkward "otherworldliness." There was none, except the cumbersome "juridic monogamy" to cover the commonest form of marriage, where there is one chief wife and one or more subordinate ones; and there was nothing but "ghostism" (Sumner's "goblinism") to cover the theory about disembodied spirits. There are probably a very few other terms in our volumes that might be called invented and technical.

Had Mr. Henshaw Ward invented "thobbing," to characterize wishful thinking, in time, I should have embraced his term in *The Science of Society*. It does not offend my taste in the least, but somehow carries, along with verb and adjective forms, a connotation with a tang not present in the awkward compound, "wishful thinking." It seems to me a much needed word, that has not "caught on."

Here is enough illustration and of sufficient variety, to align term-formation in the social range with the general process of linguistic adjustment, *via* the operation of variation, selection, and transmission—of evolution in the mores, of which language is one of the purest cases.

In general, if a term for something is lacking in a language, the thing itself is lacking in the local culture, or the need of distinguishing it may, in rare cases, not have been felt. This is obvious enough. Nevertheless there have been interested efforts to

prove the presence of some item of culture by torturing existing terms into a significance to indicate that presence. In the normal term-making process, which is automatic, something new appears either by acculturation, in which case the name comes in along with the thing, or by internal development, when the novelty gets some designation of its own, generally derived from its likeness with some pre-existing term. There is a good deal of this last in pigeon-English; and it occurs right along in any vernacular. There is also the survivalistic term, which has lost sense, but is not dropped for that reason. A little knife suitable for trimming quills remains a pen(feather)-knife. No one is going to take the trouble to sit down and invent a brand-new term if there already exists something to which the new object or conception can be tied by some slight modification or addition or interpretation. Thus do compounds reveal, often survival-wise, their descent from simpler forms, with the result that inspection of etymologies is often highly revealing as to the ancestry, not only of terms but also of the items of culture which they designate. It is a matter of more than mere curiosity that "electricity" goes back to the Greek word for "amber," "choleric" to that for "bile," "disaster" to "ill star."

This is a large subject. There is an opportunity for some philologist to write a history of culture out of the linguistic evolutionary series and especially out of those linguistic fossils, the survivals.

In the present instance, we are interested chiefly in the deliberate invention of terms; in planned, rather than in unpremeditated, linguistic variations. The invented terminology not seldom follows the "natural" course of applying existing designations in a compounded, analogic, or interpreted form. Take the German word "Brustrohrentzündung" (pneumonia), which means "breast-pipe-enkindling," or inflammation (firing, flaming) of the lung-tubes. We speak in English of the "wind-pipe." Again, in German, is encountered "Hexenschuss" ("witchshot") for what has been long known to medicine as "lumbago," pain in the lumbar (loin) region.



It is for greater convenience, accuracy, and detachment from popular notions, as well as to secure the impressiveness inhering in classics-derived terms, that recourse has been taken to Latin and especially Greek. That practice sets the natural object or process back far enough so that it becomes strange, remote, and perhaps awesome—at any rate, so that scientific terminology no longer suffers from the looseness of familiarity, as it might if it were confined to simple compounds like “belly-ache.” “Anæmia” sounds better, and is also capable of much sharper definition than “bloodlessness,” though that is what the Greek term means. I am convinced, as I said, that there is a substantial, important, and also interesting volume to be written, by someone who starts with a sound grounding in philology, upon cultural evolution as recorded in language.

But the question to which this writing specifically addresses itself is as to when a new term is needed in the social sciences; also as to how far it is justifiable, not to say profitable, to make or allow a shift in terminology, and whether with or without notice. These queries were mentioned at the outset. We now have some indication of the lines taken in linguistic evolution in general and of the practice of the long-established disciplines. In both cases, and barring a deal of professional and mystifying jargon during the astrologic, alchemic, and otherwise speculative immaturity of the several established sciences, a term was invented when it was needed. Among primitive peoples, abstractions, such as “tree,” or high numbers, like “million,” were not needed—hence a swarm of concrete terms: oak, ash, etc.; “goose-breast-color,” not “gray”; and numerical designations stopping almost before they begin. Science similarly seized upon new and distinctive features: “bubonic,” because of the characteristic gland-swelling.

Certain of the disciplines, notably mathematics, are nothing if not esoteric. A layman very quickly finds himself out of his depth, and he knows it. That is why one who, with rapt and burning eye, swings the mathematical club over adversaries, tracing fre-

quency curves in the air, for instance, often sees his victims forthwith assume the “Kam-erad” attitude or even lie prone with paws in the air. Mathematicians, astronomers, physicists, chemists, and other men who are learned in remote matters, talk and write, in general, only to or for one another. That being the case, their inventiveness in terminology is, as it were, their own funeral.

It is different, as intimated at the outset, with him who works with social phenomena. It is different, indeed, with anyone who deals with the familiar, the non-esoteric. Some dealers with the familiar, notably the psychologists, affect esotericism by clapping portentous names, *e.g.*, “inferiority complex,” upon the familiar, thus seeking to make it mysteriously learned and technical, and not seldom, through appeal to the vanity of half-education, succeeding. Something of the kind occurs in the social sciences in connection with such mouth-filling terms as L. F. Ward delighted to coin on the analogical basis: *e.g.*, “social karyokinesis.” J. W. Powell was an habitual inventor of unnecessary terms, such as “sophiology.” Social pseudo-scientists are prolific also in slogan-like designations to which they seek to lend a technical meaning although they are merely battle-cries, emotional and not disinterested: *e.g.*, “unearned increment,” “collectivism,” “nationalism.”

One great handicap imposed on the social sciences lies in the popular conviction that anyone has, by living in a society, enough experience and knowledge to entitle him to the right to an opinion, whereas only a very few human beings have ever been able, had they really desired, to think in terms of a society. It will demand decades of patient and unrewarded labor by genuinely scientific students of society before people are able to sense what scientific validity, in this range, means. It may be a thankless task to try to confer exactitude upon current terms. Perhaps social scientists had better retire into the desert of complete and unworldly obscurity and oblivion for a number of decades, there to develop a bristling terminology understandable solely by themselves. To a large measure that is what Pareto did. But it

looks as if such withdrawal were an idle gesture, for apparently the student of society is fated to carry on his labors in the open forum, amidst the hustlings and the hecklings and the raucous voices of various types of the side-show barker.

Whether he wants to or not, he must waste time and effort in wranglings and in trying to "do something." Perhaps if he has private means, he may retire, like Darwin to Down, and let the world flow by at a distance; but if he is a teacher, he must sense an obligation to his students and be ever and anon reminded of his duty toward "the public." He must bait a hook with something intellectually edible, or at least "cut bait"; and his utterances must not require a glossary. He can rarely attain the solitude in which a talent develops itself. And if this is deplorable from the standpoint of the interests of pure science, it is more discouraging still to realize that the last thing that most students of society want is detachment and perspective. They want to collect their dividends by the week, or at least the month; frequent dividends that cater to passing vanity, not to perdurable pride. They do not wish to put their money on the long chance, but to play for trivial stakes that can be garnered in at short intervals. And if they reveal any tendency not to do so, they are speedily advised of their error.

I seem to have digressed from technical terminology. I have not. The social scientist must work within the cultural environment allotted to him, not some other. If he is a realist, he will not envelop himself in an ectoplasm of exuded technicalities. He will be as little technical as he can be. And he will not let either himself or the public be nose-led by the pretentious jargon affected by poseurs. That means that he must do a good deal of mask-removing and guise-stripping, acquiring thereby much censure as "uncoöperative" and illnated. He must on principle reject compromise with what he knows to be meretricious or erratic. He must be blunt and simple. He will be provoked to subtract from the time he could give to positive truth-finding in order to combat, negatively, recurring errors obvious to even a

slight knowledge of society's life and evolution. His desire to build must be diluted with the necessity of destroying, his eagerness to be constructive with the imperative call to correct. Above all, he must not allow himself to be deluded into trying to face both ways by essaying "constructive criticism."

He will get inconsecutive chances to labor positively upon a pure science. These periods may lengthen as time goes on. But he should remain, even in these intervals, simple and untechnical, for he has no settled body of experts to communicate with, as has the laboratory scientist. His hope is that he may lure honest souls, especially the young ones, into at least the attitude of science, especially into its respect for verified fact. Some of them may and will accomplish what he cannot. For the time is surely approaching when conditions will become perforce—because the race is certainly getting weary of and disillusioned by what has passed for science within the societal range—such that there will be a demand, as there has always been a need, for a genuine science of society.

There was once a teacher who used to tell us that we must express our ideas in such manner that not only could they be understood, but so they could not be misunderstood. The simpler the better. Lincoln once remarked that if anything were so presented that the simple could understand, the wise had no excuse for not understanding. His Gettysburg Address is brief—only 266 words, and of these 190 are of one syllable, 56 of two, only 20 of more than two. Every word is a familiar one; all but one ("continent") are to be found, it is stated, in the Bible, the most familiar of all books to the people. There is no "terminology" at all. Lincoln used to use stories in place of argument, or to support argument. Senator Sumner stated that "his ideas moved, as the beasts entered Noah's ark, in pairs."<sup>4</sup> His utterances have become classics of exposition. The social scientist, if he is going to accomplish anything, is bound to become an expositor. A polysyllabic jargon will be no asset to him. Let him study to be Lincolnian.

<sup>4</sup> Sandburg, Lincoln, War Years, IV, 191, 192.

## ANTAGONISTIC ACCULTURATION

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Human societies are sometimes negatively influenced by their neighbors. They resist the adoption of the neighbor's goals through isolation, through adoption of the neighbor's means and techniques, the better to resist the adoption of his goals, and by evolving customs deliberately at variance with, or the opposite of, the neighbor's ways. Thus, while response to means and techniques may seem positive, response to goals and ends is frequently negative. The problem is analysed both sociologically and psychologically.

THE PROCESS of "antagonistic acculturation" does not seem so far to have been given explicit recognition either in sociological or in anthropological theory, even though it is one of the most interesting and characteristic processes of the contemporary social scene. We propose to describe and define it, and to analyze it in terms of the means-end schema.

The failure to recognize antagonistic acculturation as one of the basic processes of social change is due to: (1) a somewhat narrow preoccupation with mere diffusion, and (2) the fact that antagonistic acculturation, at least in its "dissociative" phase, seems almost the reverse of diffusion proper, even if the term "diffusion" is broadened to include Kroeber's "stimulus diffusion".<sup>1</sup>

A subcommittee of the Social Science Research Council (composed of Redfield, Linton and Herskovits<sup>2</sup>) defines acculturation as follows:

"Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups. Under this definition, acculturation is to be distinguished from culture-change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation. It is also to be differentiated from diffusion, which, while occurring in all instances of acculturation, is not only a phenomenon which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the types of

contact between peoples specified in the definition given above, but also constitutes only one aspect of the process of acculturation." (p. 10)

In a later study<sup>3</sup> Linton makes several significant additions to this definition.

"Culture change normally involves not only the addition of a new element or elements to the culture, but also the elimination of certain previously existing elements, and the modification and reorganization of others." (p. 469)  
"No society as long as it exists as a distinct entity, will take over even the purely objective aspects of an alien culture in toto." (p. 487)  
"If one group admires another it will take a great deal of trouble to be like them. If it despises them to be unlike them." (p. 488)  
"Overt hostility, that is actual warfare, seems to impose very little bar to cultural borrowing. Each of the hostile groups may recognize in the other a foeman worthy of its steel, and one from whom elements of culture can be taken with gain rather than a loss in prestige." (p. 498)

Linton then proceeds to point out the significance of the borrowing of military techniques, and also stresses the fact that some traits of the culture of the vanquished tend to become incorporated into the culture of the victor, by means of the slave-economy and concubinage resulting from the exploitation of the vanquished.

Linton's work always excepted, the pre-occupations of students of acculturation may be defined as primarily quantitative, in that they seek to assign the phenomena which they study to one of the following cate-

<sup>1</sup>A. L. Kroeber, Stimulus Diffusion. *American Anthropologist* n.s. 42:1-20, 1940.

<sup>2</sup>M. J. Herskovits, *Acculturation. The Study of Culture Contacts*. New York, 1938.

<sup>3</sup>R. Linton, *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*. New York, 1940.



gories: (1) sterile contact. (2) partial borrowing. (3) partial lending. (4) wholesale borrowing (passive). (5) wholesale lending (active).

### RESISTANCES

Only in relatively recent times did students of acculturation give theoretical as well as descriptive recognition to the resistances to diffusion and acculturation. Our reference to resistance does not concern, of course, such obvious phenomena as mere traditionalism. We take it for granted with Sumner<sup>4</sup> that men tend to regard the ways of their ancestors as sacred, and to believe that these time-hallowed procedures are watched over by the spirit of their forefathers. In this mentality any change, regardless of the advantages or disadvantages which may accrue therefrom, is always regarded as a bad change. Lowie says: "But man is not built so as to do the reasonable thing just because it is reasonable. It is far easier for him to do an irrational thing because it has always been done."<sup>5</sup> This phenomenon is, however, *cultural inertia* rather than *resistance*.

We cannot, however, stop here. The task of our analysis is outlined for us by Lowie's warning that "man is not a total abstainer from common-sense even if he indulges with fanatical moderation" (p. 60). Hence we first undertake a structural analysis of the phenomenon of resistance, which, in the last resort, forms the foundation of the process of antagonistic acculturation.

An analysis of resistance must take into consideration several modes of classifying phenomena and use several frames of reference. Two major frames of reference will, however, suffice in this context, since our article is not primarily devoted to resistance as such: (1) the distinction between resistance to borrowing and resistance to lending; (2) the distinction between resistance to the borrowing or lending of specific cultural items as such, and resistance to, or an-

tagonism toward, the prospective lender or borrower. Analytically the two frames of reference are distinct, though in concrete examples a complete analysis cannot be achieved without using both frames of reference.

#### I. Resistance to borrowing:

##### A. Due to resistance to the cultural item:

- (1) The Mentawai Islanders refuse to borrow the art of rice-cultivation from the neighboring Malay, even though the cultivation of rice would raise their standard of living. Rice cultivation demands, however, continuous work, which cannot be reconciled with the demands of Mentawai religion that all work cease for months at a time. Hence the staple crop of the Mentawai Islands is taro rather than rice.<sup>6</sup>
- (2) The Tanala of Madagascar borrowed from their neighbors the technique of wet-rice culture, which is more profitable than their own dry-rice technique. Eventually they found it desirable to revert once more to the relatively unprofitable dry-rice technique, because the wet-rice technique tended to undermine their existing social structure.<sup>7</sup>

##### B. Due to resistance to the lender:

- (1) The Scriptures constantly admonish the Hebrews not to be like unto the Midianites or other neighbors, who were at the same time their enemies.
- (2) Colonizing "Nordics" tend to reject many of the successful techniques of adjustment of the subject races to the tropical environments, and to ostracise those of their fellows who "go native."

#### II. Resistance to lending:

##### A. Due to the cultural item:

- (1) The knowledge of certain segments of cult and belief tends in most cultures to be limited to the initiates, and are jealously guarded from

<sup>4</sup>W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*. Boston, 1906.

<sup>5</sup>R. H. Lowie, *Are We Civilized?* New York, 1929 (p. 68).

<sup>6</sup>E. M. Loeb, *Sumatra. Its History and People*. Vienna, 1935 (p. 163).

<sup>7</sup>R. Linton (in) Kardiner, A., *The Individual and His Society*. New York, 1939 (pp. 329-337).



women and children.<sup>8</sup> Even visiting anthropologists, who cannot in any sense be considered as prospective borrowers, often experience considerable difficulties in their attempts to record all phases of esoteric cults and beliefs.

- (2) Patents, though seldom secret, are protected by law against being used by all. (The Treaty of Versailles compelled Germany to surrender to the allies all of its chemical patents.)

*B. Due to antagonism toward the borrower:*

- (1) Shamans more consistently conceal their knowledge from their competitors, the missionaries, than from the neutral visiting anthropologist.
- (2) Military secrets are exceptionally well guarded from other nations. The United States Air Corps bombardiers are under oath to protect a certain bomb-sight with their very lives.

Psychologically, resistance to the trait differs from resistances due to group-antagonism, but the two processes are highly similar in their actual operation.

Developing further our analysis of resistance to lending, we find an important distinction between resistance to in-group diffusion and resistance to out-group diffusion. The former prevents the homogenization of the group and the disappearance of caste and class barriers, while the latter aims to prevent the homogenization of culturally and ethnically distinct groups.

Each group has a jealous regard for its own ethnic distinctiveness and cultural autonomy, which is clearly reflected in resistance to borrowing, and, even more conspicuously, in resistance to lending. This "pride" stands in the way of acculturation and assimilation in the social-cultural sphere, and in the way of miscegenation in the biological realm.

The operation of resistance to lending closely resembles the function of patents.

<sup>8</sup>E. M. Loeb, *Tribal Initiations and Secret Societies*. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 25, No. 3. Berkeley, 1929 (p. 250 ff.).

*I. Resistance to internal lending is exemplified in:*

- (1) Certain old Italian laws forbidding the education of the poor.
- (2) Sumptuary laws.
- (3) Dollard's proof<sup>9</sup> that Southern Whites deliberately keep the Negro improvident, immoral and infantile, *i.e.*, outside the sphere of "Protestant Ethic"<sup>10</sup> in order to rule them, and in order to justify their rule.
- (4) Poll-taxes and property-tests for franchise.
- (5) The disenfranchisement of women.
- (6) An African practice, which forbids the common people of a certain tribe<sup>11</sup> to own fertile cows. This property restriction prevents intermarriage between nobles and commoners, since a noble bride must be paid for in fertile cows.
- (7) Patents and monopolies.

*II. Resistance to external lending is exemplified in:*

- (1) Former Brazilian laws against the exportation of the rubber-tree (*Hevea brasiliensis*).
- (2) Deliberate monopolistic attempts on the part of the trading Venetians, directed against the competing Genoese, which consisted in inciting the Mohammedans against the latter.
- (3) The secrecy surrounding Portuguese charts showing the route to the East Indies via the Cape of Good Hope.
- (4) A deliberate exaggeration of the dangers of the "Silk Road," on the part of those who habitually travelled that route and held the monopoly of the silk-trade.
- (5) Secret diplomacy of all types.
- (6) Former Dutch colonial laws, discouraging and even preventing the learning of the Dutch tongue by the Malay subjects.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup>J. Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*. New Haven, 1937.

<sup>10</sup>M. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. (T. Parsons transl.). London, 1930.

<sup>11</sup>K. Oberg (in) N. Fortes & E. E. Evans-Pritchard (eds.), *African Political Systems*. London, 1940 (p. 130).

<sup>12</sup>A. Vandenbosch, *The Dutch East Indies*. Berkeley, 1941 (p. 200).

## CAUSE AND FUNCTION OF RESISTANCE

Negative reactions to acculturation and diffusion can be better understood when we note that diffusion and acculturation both represent a particular type of socio-cultural group adjustment, necessitated by the crisis situation of a bilateral challenge resulting from new contacts. We define "crisis-situation" in terms of two criteria: (1) Vested interests are in jeopardy; (2) existing modes of adjustment to existing problem-situations fail, because they cannot be applied to the new problems arising from the bilateral challenge of contact between groups, by means of what the psychologists call "transfer of learning."<sup>13</sup>

Because of what Bain<sup>14</sup> calls organic cultural interaction, the adoption of a new trait, regardless of its magnitude, invariably challenges the adopting culture, insofar as the new trait has to be geared to, and articulated with, the remainder of the culture. Three cases are possible:

(1) Sometimes the new trait modifies a segment, or the whole, of the social structure. A conspicuous instance of this is the effect of the introduction of the horse into the Great Plains.<sup>15</sup>

(2) Sometimes the new trait undermines, or threatens to undermine, the social structure, and is hence rejected after a brief trial-period. An instance of this is the Tanala crisis, mentioned above, which resulted from the temporary adoption of wet-rice culture.

(3) Very rarely the more or less unassimilable trait becomes "encysted" or remains "free-floating." In other words, it fails to become articulated with the rest of the culture, or parts thereof, and remains a foreign body in the social structure. Sometimes, as in the case of the Sermon on the Mount, it becomes part of "covert" culture, but not of "overt" culture.<sup>16</sup> (I.e. of the content and pattern of culture, but not of

behavior or of "culture in action.") In other instances, e.g., premarital sex-relations in America, the trait is incorporated into "overt" culture, but not into "covert" culture, and sometimes its very existence is denied.

We are now prepared to discuss some psychological phases of resistance to acculturation.

(1) We have already referred to the desire for ethnic distinctiveness and cultural autonomy, but have described these phenomena as facts, without inquiring into the psychological motivation which has created these facts. Psychoanalysts have provided us with excellent devices for an understanding of this motivational structure. Freud<sup>17</sup> has carefully analyzed the meaning of the narcissism of small differences, and the psychological function of the sense of the "uniqueness of the self"<sup>18</sup> is one of the cornerstones of Horney's psychology. The Freud-Horney interpretation readily connects with Pareto's residue of the "integrity of the individual."<sup>19</sup> The need to be distinct from one's fellows seems a significant component of man's sense of his own integrity, and explains resistance to, and ambivalence toward, regimentation or even conformity. It is this ambivalence which has served as a point of departure for Fromm's<sup>20</sup> brilliant analysis in *Escape from Freedom*. On a broad social plane, the individual's desire for "integrity" (which includes distinctiveness) is expressed in the form of a desire for ethnic distinctiveness and cultural autonomy.<sup>21</sup>

We need not be puzzled by the strength of this desire for uniqueness, either on the psychological or on the social level. Genetic

<sup>13</sup> S. Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*. (J. Strachey transl.). New York, 1922. (esp. pp. 55-56).

<sup>14</sup> K. Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time*. New York, 1937 (cf. esp. p. 237 ff.).

<sup>15</sup> V. Pareto, *The Mind and Society*. New York, 1935. 4 vols. (cf. vol. 2. pp. 727-806).

<sup>16</sup> E. Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*. New York, 1941.

<sup>17</sup> The best philosophical definition of "autonomy" is that to be found in A. Angyal, *Foundations for a Science of Personality*. New York, 1941 (cf. pp. 20-55).

<sup>18</sup> G. Devereux, *The Mental Hygiene of the American Indian*. *Mental Hygiene*, 26:71-84, 1942.

<sup>19</sup> R. Bain, *Sociology and the Other Sciences*. *Scientific Monthly*, 53:444-453, 1941.

<sup>20</sup> C. Wissler, *The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture*. *American Anthropologist*, n.s. 16:1-25, 1914.

<sup>21</sup> The distinction is Linton's. The term "covert" replaces his earlier term "essential." cf. R. Linton, *The Study of Man*. New York, 1936 (p. 299).

psychoanalysis has shown the difficulty which the child experiences in becoming aware of the distinction between the self and the environment, and culture-history shows a similarly arduous struggle for cultural autonomy in the face of constant dangers of encroachments. By "reaction-formation" these strenuously achieved techniques of becoming and remaining distinct are clung to with great intensity.

The practical implication is equally obvious: it always seems desirable to prolong indefinitely the usefulness of existing patterns of adjustment, which might fail were one's culture modified, or were the balance of strength between one's own group and the out-group radically upset, through indiscriminate processes of one-sided or cross-fertilization. We must remember that acculturation invariably creates new challenges and problems for lender and borrower alike.<sup>22</sup>

(2) The problem of resistance must also be connected with the general psychological problem of the "in-group" and the "out-group." The nexus is as follows:

On the basis of Ferenczi's<sup>23</sup> studies we postulate that in early childhood the dominant mechanisms of social adjustment in the individual are "identification" and "introjection." Whosoever and whatsoever enters the life-space of the child, while identification is the dominant psychological process, automatically becomes part of the "in-group," respectively of the "culture of the

in-group," and is considered good and just. This is clearly implied in Kimball Young's statement: "From [his in-group's behavior] pattern the child constructs his own role and status."<sup>24</sup> Gradually, however, "identification," as the *major* technique of adjustment, recedes and yields its dominant place to the mechanism known as "projection." Individual personality comes into being at this stage, and the "system" becomes "closed." New persons and objects are automatically assigned to the out-group and its culture, and are often automatically labelled evil and wrong. MacCrone<sup>25</sup> rightly stresses that in race-prejudice we project into the out-group our own repressed and rejected wishes, and characterize the outgroup in terms of these repudiated impulses. (The physiological equivalent of the "closing" process is the myelinization of the nerve-sheaths, whose socio-cultural significance is ably discussed by Kardiner.)<sup>26</sup>

In summary, it may be said: (1) there is resistance to borrowing because of a resistance to identification with the out-group which represents our repressed impulses (rejection of affiliation); (2) there is a resistance to lending, because lending would force the borrower into the closed circle of the lender's in-group (rejection of adoption).

It would be tempting to pursue here further our analysis of the implications of this scheme, which forms the basis of the theory of antagonistic acculturation. For reasons of expository convenience we must, however, next consider Kroeber's theory of Stimulus Diffusion, because it forms the logical bridge between the psychological analysis of resistances to acculturation, and an analysis, in terms of the means-end schema, of antagonistic acculturation.

Suffice it to say at this stage, that the mere contact of culturally different groups is always a challenge to both, and a cause of social and cultural change. Change can take three major forms: (1) purposive isolation,

<sup>22</sup> It should be clearly understood, however, that this analysis, while sufficient for our purposes, is not complete. One of us will deal in another context with the more elusive psychological and sociological implications of the problem of uniqueness, both as regards the individual and as regards culture. This phase of the problem has broader implications in terms of W. I. Thomas' "definition of the situation," in terms of what G. Devereux has called "orientation," and, more generally, in terms of the problems connected with R. E. Park's "social visibility" and the substitution of regalia for "expressive behavior," which, according to psychologists, is both equivocal and misleading in man.

<sup>23</sup> S. Ferenczi, *Stages in the Development of the Sense of Reality*. (in) J. S. Van Tessaar (ed.) *An Outline of Psychoanalysis*. New York, 1924 (pp. 108-127).

<sup>24</sup> K. Young, *Personality and Problems of Maladjustment*. New York, 1940 (p. 630).

<sup>25</sup> I. D. MacCrone, *Race Attitudes in South Africa*. New York, 1937 (pp. 233-257).

<sup>26</sup> Kardiner, *op. cit.* (pp. 33-34).



exemplified in barriers, silent trade, etc.; (2) borrowing and lending; (3) purposive dissociative change, i.e. negative acculturation.

### "STIMULUS DIFFUSION"

In a recent paper Kroeber<sup>27</sup> defined a hitherto neglected type of diffusion.

It occurs in situations where a system or pattern as such encounters no resistance to its spread but there are difficulties in regard to the transmission of the concrete content of the system. In this case it is the idea of the complex or system which is accepted, but it remains for the receiving culture to develop a new content. This somewhat special process might therefore be called "idea-diffusion" or "stimulus-diffusion." The process is clearly reflected in one of Kroeber's illustrative examples. Europeans in the early XVIII Century deliberately attempted to discover the technique of manufacturing Chinese porcelain, since transportation risks and costs made Chinese porcelain extremely expensive. In this instance the idea of porcelain was borrowed from the Chinese, whereas the technique of manufacturing it was rediscovered independently.

While Kroeber's study deals with significant and hitherto neglected phenomena, it does so on a descriptive, rather than on a theoretical level. (Definition and analysis are not identical.)

Unfortunately Kroeber's terminology is not acceptable, since his use of the word "stimulus" is at variance with the standardized psychological connotations of this term. What Kroeber denotes by the term "stimulus" is, properly speaking, merely a segment of what Linton<sup>28</sup> originally called "essential" culture, and which he now designates by the more neutral and hence more appropriate term "covert" culture. We stress the fact that Kroeber's "idea" or "stimulus" is merely a *segment* of covert culture, since in the case of the porcelain complex, the covert-culture complex would include also a mental blue-print of the manufacturing process.

The terminological difficulty can be overcome by a blending of the concepts "covert"

and "overt" culture with Parsons<sup>29</sup> "means-end" schema. In terms of this schema we may define what Kroeber calls "idea" or "stimulus" as the end-segment of a covert-culture complex. E.g. the Chinese "idea" of porcelain and its use is, in the last resort, nothing more than a part of the end-segment of the covert-culture complex "porcelain," whose means-segment includes, among other things, techniques of manufacturing the object in question.

It should be noted furthermore that Kroeber's study of "stimulus-diffusion" has certain important broader implications for societies undergoing what is more or less "contact-less" culture-change. Two types may be considered:

I. *Ersatz*, which may be defined as the deliberate reproduction, by different techniques, of objects which are lacking, or the deliberate production of different objects having the same function.

#### A. Reproduction by different technique:

The most famous example is perhaps the Haber nitrogen-fixation process, which enabled Germany in 1914-1918 to wage a long war, even though it was cut off from Chilean nitrates.

#### B. Production of functionally similar objects:

(1) The Polynesians seem to have possessed pottery in their original habitat. When they migrated to islands without potter's clay, they imitated clay-containers in wood and stone.

(2) Expensive goods are often imitated with cheap raw materials. E.g. imitation leather.

II. *Form-persistence*: In many instances there is a tendency to retain the external appearance of an object about to be replaced by a more useful one, by adding functionless external details to the latter. This is clearly illustrated in the tendency of early automobile builders to make their vehicles appear like broughams or victorias.

In each and all of these instances there is a persistence of the "idea" or "stimulus," or, more properly, a persistence of the end-seg-

<sup>27</sup> Kroeber, *op. cit.* (p. 1).

<sup>28</sup> Linton, *The Study of Man. op. cit.*

<sup>29</sup> T. Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*. New York, 1937.



ment of covert-culture complexes, and a substitution of means. This phenomenon took on extremely broad proportions during the early Renaissance, where the borrowing of classical "ends" led to a wholesale reconstruction of mediaeval society. Ersatz products and form-persistences occur when society becomes aware of cultural lacunae. This awareness is, however, very often a result of interaction between groups. Sequoya, the illiterate inventor of the Cherokee system of writing, became aware of a deficiency of his tribal culture only because contact with Americans, who knew how to write, created a need for similar efficiency in communication and recording in his tribe. Kroeber rightly stresses that when the "idea" is a borrowed one, the act of borrowing itself indicates a lack of resistance to the cultural item. Affectively, end-diffusion implies at least benevolent neutrality, or else competitive admiration for the group whose culture is being imitated.

We are now prepared to gather together our threads and undertake an analysis of antagonistic acculturation.

#### ANTAGONISTIC ACCULTURATION

Antagonistic acculturation is the diffusion of the means segment of a covert-culture (or overt-culture) complex of traits. We can distinguish between three types: (1) defensive isolation; (2) the adoption of new means in order to support existing ends; (3) dissociative negative acculturation, or the evolving of culture-complexes deliberately at variance with, or the opposite of the culture of the out-group. We now propose to analyse these three types of antagonistic acculturation, to study their motivational structure as "social actions," and, finally, to establish their significance for the study of the social process.

I. *Defensive isolation.* The bilateral challenge of culture-contact can be met, among other ways, by defensive isolation. History is replete with accounts of forbidden lands (e.g., Mecca or Thibet). Defensive isolation may be either partial or complete. Analytically we can distinguish between two types of isolation:

A. *The suppression of social contact* is exemplified in "silent barter" between alien or hostile groups.

The Sakai of Malaya leave near a tree certain forest-products such as wax, rattan, etc., and then retire out of sight. In due time a Malay will collect these goods and leave manufactured products in their place. This type of relationship is frequent between pygmies and full-size natives and is reported from Africa, Malaya and the Philippines, as well as from other areas. It is rather noteworthy that in the Malay language "Sakai" means "dependents," "retainers" or "subjects,"<sup>30</sup> although the relationship between Malay and Sakai is decidedly reciprocal and mutually beneficial.

Cases which constitute a transition between the suppression of relationships and obstacles to the spread of selected cultural items are by no means lacking.

(1) The Hà(rh)de:a(ng) Moi of Indo China tend to kill foreigners in general, and Annamites in particular, as soon as they appear in their tribal territory. An exception to this rule are Annamite salt-traders, who are not only not molested, but are actually protected by the tribe as a whole.

(2) During the war of 1914-1918 belligerent countries sold large quantities of war-material to "neutral" countries, pretending to be unaware of the fact that these goods were promptly re-sold to their enemies. Napoleon excluded coffee from Europe when he blockaded England, but, being himself a heavy coffee-drinker, never inquired where his own coffee came from.

B. *The suppression of cultural items* can be of three types, and each of these types may be total or partial: (1) tariff barriers, exclusion, and boycott; (2) Embargo on exports and blockade; (3) a combination of the two.

Examples of the suppression of cultural items have been given above, in connection with resistance to diffusion. One interesting case does, however, merit mention: since the handy Arabic numeral system was a creation of the "infidels," Florentine merchants were forbidden to use it and had to use the clumsy Roman numerals instead.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> R. J. Wilkinson, *An Abridged Malay-English Dictionary*. Singapore, 1919 (p. 219).

<sup>31</sup> F. Cajori, *A History of Mathematics*. New York, 1924 (p. 121).

The trend toward autarchy, as exemplified in pre-war Nazi Germany, also illustrates this process, which connects readily with the theory of "stimulus" diffusion. The suppression of cultural items and their replacement is particularly frequent in times of war. In many other instances it is due to a lack of purchasing power.

II. *The adoption of new means* without a corresponding adoption of the relevant goals is a common process in socio-cultural change. The new means are adopted in order to support existing goals, sometimes even for the specific purpose of resisting the compulsory adoption of the goals of the lending group. Theoretically the issue is clear: means are adopted and the goals pertaining to them are rejected. However, because of what Bain<sup>32</sup> calls "organic cultural interaction," the adoption of means is often accompanied for a certain length of time by what we may term a "pseudo-diffusion of goals." Hence, in order to justify our position that in the cases under study only means are genuinely diffused, we now propose to examine an instance of pseudo-diffusion of goals.

A. The *pseudo-diffusion of goals* is conspicuously illustrated by the recent history of Japan, during the so-called Meiji era. It is often an automatic and more or less unconscious process, but in the case of Japan it was more or less deliberate.

Subsequent to the "opening up" of Japan, there arose in certain Japanese circles a movement, whose purpose was the wholesale Westernization of the country, by means of an assimilation of Japan's means-end system to the Western social structure. Intellectual Japanese spoke not only of adopting the British parliamentary system, but also of adopting the U. S. type of republican government. Ancient Japanese ways fell into disrepute. Jiu jitsu, Japanese archery and other folk-ways were frowned upon as barbarous, and were preserved only in outlying rural districts. Many enlightened Westerners were deceived by these phenomena, and believed that Japan had forsaken its traditional goals, in order to replace them by Western ones. Japan's victory over Russia was hailed by many as a triumph of democracy over the forces of darkness. A few sentimentalists de-

plored the passing of "quaint" Japanese ways of life, but the majority of Westerners welcomed Japan into the comity of civilized nations.

Strangely enough, the process of Westernization was welcomed even by some Japanese diehards. While they despised the westernized among their compatriots, they used them for the purpose of persuading Western powers of Japan's complete Westernization. The confusion was complete. Not until Pearl Harbor did Western diplomacy and the Western "man in the street" awaken to the realization that the pseudo-adoption of Western goals on the part of Japan was, as far as the country as a whole was concerned, nothing more than protective coloring. It did, however, enable Japan, with the help, or at least with the complicity of Western powers, to achieve the degree of industrialization and militarization which now enables it to make a bid for world-domination, in accordance with traditional Japanese political philosophy.

The case of Japan proves conclusively that the borrowing of means is frequently undertaken only for the ultimate purpose of turning the tables on the lender.

The same process is also manifest in the exploitive industrialization of cheap labor areas, e.g., the Colonies and our own Deep South. We disagree with those optimists who believe that the industrialization of the Deep South will modernize its spirit. Rather do we feel that the rising economic power of the Deep South, within the economic structure of the United States, is likely to bring about a state of affairs in which the industrialized South will make a bid for an *ideological* domination of the United States as a whole. In simpler terms, the industrialization of the Deep South is likely to undermine the American Way of Life, unless constructive efforts are made to reconstruct the ideology of the South first, and to industrialize it afterwards. In support of this contention we would mention once more the case of Japan, and the ideologically sterile "Westernization" of Germany in the sphere of technology alone.

B. We may now give a few samples of the *adoption of means without either real or apparent adoption of goals*:

(1) The Apache of Geronimo substituted for their own traditional system of smoke-signals the heliographic method of signalling, which

<sup>32</sup> Bain, *op. cit.*

they borrowed from the United States Army, i.e. from the foe whom they wished to defeat.<sup>33</sup>

(2) The Hebrews (I. Samuel, ch. 8 and 10) asked the prophet to give them a king, so that they would be like other nations. In support of this demand they explained that they wished to have a king, who would go before them in battle against the self-same nations whose kingship pattern they wished to borrow.

(3) Skirmishing and Deployment. During the French-Indian wars the British troops were compelled to adopt the guerrilla tactics of their opponents and to create the "American Rifles." After the American Revolution this body of fighters was replaced by the "Rifle Brigade," and men trained in these tactics by Sir John Moore played an important role in the Peninsular war. After the Boer War—chiefly under the impetus of Churchill—new skirmishing and deployment tactics were introduced into the British Expeditionary Force of the first World War.

(4) The Tank was invented by the British, whose initial use of the tank was, however, injudicious. The theory of tank warfare was developed by Col. J. F. C. Fuller, R. A., and the theory of the *Blitzkrieg* by General de Gaulle. The German Army borrowed first the tank, then tank-tactics, and finally the *Blitzkrieg*-theory, in order to turn the tables on the inventors of these devices and techniques.

(5) Army Structure. In order to defeat the German Army the United States Army was recently reorganized along German lines. Two phases of this reorganization may be considered:

(a) The triangular division was originated in Germany during the twenties, when the *Reichswehr* was organized as a skeleton army, rather than as a field-force. In simpler terms, the triangular division is not the product of profound military philosophy, but of lack of manpower during the early days of the *Reichswehr*.

(b) The ratio between tanks and other types of ordnance. Certain American military strategists have asserted that the Germans have discovered the "ideal" ratio between various types of ordnance in general, and between tanks, aircraft and guns in particular. The plain fact is that the Germans equipped their army-units with as many tanks as their industrial plants could furnish, neither more, nor less. The German "ideal" ratio between tanks and other types of ordnance, is once more not a product of their military philosophy, but of their industrial capacity. As regards the use of tanks,

the Germans recently set a pattern which was once more not "ideal" but determined by the terrain. The British command in Burma had tanks enough, but the tanks were of no particular use in the jungle, and were constantly outflanked by Japanese jungle troops.

We have mainly quoted military examples, because they provide us with conspicuously clear examples of the adoption of means without an adoption of goals. It may be objected, of course, that no adoption of goals was necessary, because the goals were identical to begin with: i.e., victory. This statement is nonsense, when examined in the light of the theory of goals, combined with MacIver's theory of interests.<sup>34</sup> That the goals in such a case are not identical, and that victory is but an intermediate goal or "intervening opportunity,"<sup>35</sup> is well expressed by von Clausewitz's famous dictum: "War is the continuation of policies by other means."<sup>36</sup> Since war was brought about by a clash of policies, the allegation of an identity of goals is necessarily fallacious.

We must, however, attempt a closer analysis in terms of MacIver's work, in view of the fact that alarmist circles in America have asserted that, because in time of war we are borrowing certain Nazi means of coping with problems, we are inevitably doomed to adopt the *whole* of Nazi philosophy. Some viewers-with-alarm actually see the shadow of the proverbial "Man-on-the-White-Horse" fall across the pages of such "un-American" institutions as sugar-rationing booklets. Practically their fears may be dismissed as nonsense, since it is obvious that, whereas the Nazis glory in regimentation, we merely endure it temporarily for the purpose of not having to endure it forever.

Theoretically the issue is broader:

(1) Victory is a "like interest." Like interests or goals are attained by competition, and only by establishing *exclusive* possession

<sup>33</sup> R. M. MacIver, *Society*. New York, 1937 (pp. 19-58).

<sup>34</sup> S. Stouffer, *Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance*. *American Sociological Review*. 5:845-867, 1940.

<sup>35</sup> K. v. Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege*. vol. I. 1832. (Quoted under "War" (in) H. L. Mencken, *A New Dictionary of Quotations*. New York, 1942.)

<sup>36</sup> E. M. Loeb, *Apache Field Notes* (MS.).



over the goal can a contender feel entirely satisfied (e.g., armies fighting).

(2) Policies (mentioned by Clausewitz) are cultural goals, i.e., "common interests," which can be attained by cooperation, and whose satisfaction does not imply exclusive possession. (E.g., Ishi, the last Yahi Indian<sup>37</sup> could speak no language other than his own and no one could speak his. As long as this state of affairs continued, the goal of his language-behavior, i.e., communication, remained unattainable.)

It is hence our thesis that the borrowing of even "intermediate goals" of the "like interests" type (e.g., for victory, desire for rule by presidential decrees) must still be treated in this scheme as a "diffusion of means," and be kept distinct from the diffusion of genuine goals, particularly of goals of the "common interests" type.

Since this statement stands in need of concrete proof, we now propose to examine historical instances supporting this interpretation.

According to Henri Pirenne<sup>38</sup> the "Roman Way of Life," which he calls "Romania" for short, did not disappear until the time of Mohammed and Charlemagne, and, more especially, did not founder at the time of the barbarian invasions. In support of this assertion he rightly stresses that when, e.g., the Vandals conquered North Africa, and when the Visigoths conquered Spain, they took over the Roman administrative system, and became more or less Romanized themselves. (Related phenomena are the Persianization of the Arabs, the Indianization of the "Moghuls" and the absorption of the Mongols and of the Manchus by the Chinese.) It is our thesis that the invading barbarians borrowed merely the intermediate goals and probably, in most cases, borrowed merely the means of the Roman social structure. The very fact that "Romania" did eventually disappear under the combined impact of Germanic feudal-tribal organization, as represented by Charlemagne, and of Islam, suggests that the true spirit of "Romania" (i.e. the

goal-structure) had foundered imperceptibly during the barbarian invasions. We similarly hold that the Arabism and Mohammedanism of the post-Persianization period is unlike "primitive" Mohammedanism, and that China modified some of its goal structure, as a result of Kubilai Khan's rule.

The relevance of these comments for our own time is obvious. There is no denying that if the Germans conquered the United Nations they would eventually succumb to the "Capua" of Western democracy, as Hannibal succumbed to Capuan delights. Napoleon, on the eve of the Russian campaign, complained that his Marshals, now wealthy and comfortable in their castles, displayed little enthusiasm for months in the saddle and in camp. This does not mean, however, that the "Capuanized" German conqueror would adopt more than the means-structure, and some of the intermediate goals of the conquered democracies. Post-Napoleonic France was unlike the France of Louis XVI. For a proper analysis the problem must be subdivided into two parts.

(a) It is correct to say that, despite the repeated triumph of barbarians over civilized nations, civilization never disappeared, because the conquerors preserved the means-structure of the vanquished group.

(b) It is, on the other hand, a gross overstatement to assert that the conquering barbarians adopted also the basic goal-structure of the conquered. It is one of the gravest shortcomings of European culture-history—manifest, in an attenuated form, even in the works of Pirenne—that the share of the barbarian tribal social structure in the structure of our contemporary civilization is consistently soft-pedalled, in contrast with the exaggerated emphasis put on the heritage of Greece, Rome and Palestine. The tendency in question is partly explained by the availability of documents bearing on the culture of our civilized ancestors, but it is also due to vanity.

Summing up, we may say that whereas means, and even intermediate goals, of the "like interest" type diffuse readily enough, the ultimate goals of the "common interest" type seldom spread. This explains perhaps

<sup>37</sup> T. S. Pope, *The Medical History of Ishi. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 13, No. 5, 1920 (p. 178).

<sup>38</sup> H. Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*. New York, 1939.

why Christianity has so seldom gone beyond the stage of ritualism and lip-service. The process as a whole is readily understandable in terms of Merton's analysis of anomie.<sup>39</sup> The adoption of means, and of intermediate goals, and the rejection of ultimate goals, is but a variant of Merton's "Ritualism." Ritualism involves, in a sense, a "misuse" of means, i.e., the use of a surgeon's scalpel for murder. On a "plane clearly different" we find resemblances with Merton's "Class V: Rebellion," which he defines as a "transitional response which seeks to *institutionalize* new procedures oriented toward revamped cultural goals." This process is manifest in the adjustment of the barbarian conqueror to the vanquished high civilization, to whose goals he now plays lip-service. This process may explain, in part, the fluctuation of cultural mentalities discussed by Sorokin.<sup>40</sup>

The question now arises: why is the borrowing of means, and possibly of intermediate goals, without a borrowing of the ultimate goals, generally destructive? Why does the resulting situation seldom fail to give one an impression of "misuse," in the sense that the drug-addict's use of pharmacological substances, such as morphine, strikes us as an anti-social misuse of cultural values?

The answer lies in the nature of basic unity of the means-end schema. The diverting of means A from the corresponding goal A to the service of some other goal B must strike *those steeped in the habit of considering means A and goal A as a unit*, as little short of sacrilege. We insist on the specification: "those steeped in the habit, etc.," since we cannot assert on any other grounds the existence of a philosophically "necessary" nexus between any means and end. A concrete illustration should suffice. The use of gunpowder for military purposes, rather than for the purpose of making fire-crackers, must strike the inventors of the

gunpowder, the Chinese, as something offensive. Yet no one among use feels repelled by the fact that Stovarsol, intended to be a preventive of syphilis, is now used almost exclusively to combat dysentery. On the other hand, not a few civilized men will deplore the fact that the plane, heralded as a means of improving relations between nations, is now being used for destructive purposes. Comparing the attitude toward the "misuse" of the plane to the attitude toward the "misuse" of Stovarsol, we must conclude that the nexus between means and ends is conceived of in ethical, rather than in mechanical terms. This nexus should hence be understood in terms of Sorokin's concept of "logico-meaningful" relationships.<sup>41</sup> The adoption of means, without the adoption of ends, is culturally destructive, since it disturbs a logico-meaningful relationship of a type which forms the basis of the social structure.

### III. Dissociative Negative Acculturation.

The realization that the borrowing of means without the borrowing of the goals pertaining to them results in social crisis, bridges the conceptual gap between the diffusion of means pure and simple and dissociative acculturation.

Dissociative acculturation may be defined as the creation of new cultural items of the "means" type, which are purposively at variance with, or the reverse of, the life-techniques of the group from which the group under study wishes to dissociate itself. As in the case of the diffusion of means, so in the case of dissociative acculturation, the purpose of this act of cultural creation is ultimately the preservation of existing goals. Although this process is an extremely common one, it is seldom interpreted in this light. Hence it is necessary to give several examples in support of our views.

(1) Apache vs. Navaho vs. Hopi. A curious case of what may possibly be antagonistic acculturation of the dissociative type may be reported from the Southwest. Among the Hopi a man turned to his father's sister's daughter (real or classificatory) for his first love-affair

<sup>39</sup> R. K. Merton, *Social Structure and Anomie*. *American Sociological Review*. 3:672-682, 1938.

<sup>40</sup> P. A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*. New York, 1937-1942, 4 vols. (vol. 1, pp. 153-191 and *passim*).

<sup>41</sup> Sorokin, *op. cit.* (vol. 1, pp. 18-21, and vol. 4 esp. pp. 21-22).

"since he could not be expected to marry her."<sup>42</sup> Among the neighboring Navaho cross-cousins were very companionable, and there were few restrictions on their relationship, except that they could not marry legitimately.<sup>43</sup> Among the Western Apache, whose contact with the Navaho was rather intimate, though not always friendly, the native term for "cross-cousin" was synonymous with "sweetheart." Goodwin<sup>44</sup> believes that in aboriginal times inter-clan cross-cousin marriages (i.e., marriage into the father's sister's clan) were frequent. On the other hand, the neighboring Chiricahua Apache were so austere in their conception of incest, that even the remotest familiarity with blood or affinal kin was frowned upon. Hence cousins of the opposite sex were prone to hide behind trees when meeting accidentally. The Chiricahua rationalize this by saying that "cousins love each other very much and wish to show their respect."<sup>45</sup>

(2) Yuma vs. Pueblo. Parsons<sup>46</sup> has shown, that the medicine societies of the Hopi and of the Zuni might well have developed as a result of resistance toward the individualistic dream-shamanism of the Pima-Papago and Yuman tribes of Southwestern Arizona. The Hopi and the Zuni also felt the need for curing, but dream-shamanism would have disrupted their highly socialized communities. They hence developed medicine-societies, which worked by routine, rather than by inspiration. We have here, hence, an instance of dissociative acculturation, which produced an end-result quite unique and different in technique, although its general purpose was the same as that of its "anti-type," which had negatively inspired its creation.

(3) Israel vs. its neighbors. The Old Testament is replete with admonitions to the Jews not to be like unto their neighbors and foes, be they Canaanites, Midianites or Philistines. In this section we propose to examine specifically the sources of the sex-morality of the Old Testament. According to Wallis,<sup>47</sup> the religion of the Prophets was the result of contact between

the cults of the primitive Semitic nomads, and the cults of the city-dwellers of Canaan. In Wallis' words, we meet here with a "cross-fertilization of cultures." The historic steps seem to be as follows.

Upon entering Canaan, the Israelites found the Ishtar cult flourishing among the settled and civilized agriculturalists of that area. Barton notes<sup>48</sup> that "The Ishtar cult is coextensive with the Semitic people, traces of it appearing in Assyria, Babylonia, north and South Arabia, Ethiopia, Nabatheae, Moab, Palestine, Phoenicia, Cyprus, Malta, Sicily and Carthage. The goddess in all these countries was a mother goddess, and a patroness of unmarried love. In Babylonia, Arabia and Cyprus virgins must sacrifice to her their chastity by an act of free love, at Byblos it might be commuted to a sacrifice of hair; and at Carthage and elsewhere her feasts were attended by impure ceremonies, in which sexual excesses formed a prominent feature. The Israelites found this cult among the Canaanites and adopted, as many scholars hold, many features of its ritual."

This view is substantiated by Badé,<sup>49</sup> who points out that "both male and female temple prostitutes, known as the 'holy ones,' were anciently attached to sanctuaries of Jahveh." Amos and Hosea denounce this form of impurity as they observe it at Israel's sanctuaries (Amos 2:7, Hosea 4:14 Cf. I Sam 2:22) and the Deuteronomists expressly provide that "there shall be among Israelitish girls and boys none who becomes a temple prostitute." Evidently the proceeds of this traffic passed into the treasure of the sanctuary, for the Deuteronomists, scornful of such profits, sought to expel the custom from Jahvism. (Deut. 23:18)."

In brief, while it may be conjectured that the nomadic Hebrews were acquainted with, and condoned at first, homosexuality, these passages would suggest that they first became acquainted with commercialized religious homosexuality and prostitution upon their entrance into Canaan. The Hebrew prophets, who desired to keep the Jahve-cult apart from the Canaanite cults, therefore condemned the homosexuality and prostitution which had crept into Hebrew religion through contact with the Canaanite cults. This rejection of these cult-techniques eventually led to the formulation of Hebrew-

<sup>42</sup> L. W. Simmons, *Sun Chief*. New Haven, 1942 (p. 155).

<sup>43</sup> G. Reichard, *Social Life of the Navajo Indians*. New York, 1928 (p. 87).

<sup>44</sup> G. Goodwin, *The Social Organization of the Western Apache*. Chicago, 1942 (p. 302).

<sup>45</sup> M. E. Opler, *An Apache Life-Way*. Chicago, 1941 (p. 61).

<sup>46</sup> E. C. Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*. Chicago, 1927. 2 vols. (cf. vol. II, p. 1096).

<sup>47</sup> L. Wallis, *Sociological Study of the Bible*, Chicago, 1927. (Introduction p. xxx.)

<sup>48</sup> G. A. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious*. New York, 1902 (p. 83).

<sup>49</sup> W. F. Badé, *The Old Testament in the Light of Today*. New York, 1915 (pp. 197-198).



Christian sex-morality, which is completely alien to the sex-morality of Greece and Rome. The violence of the Hebrew-Christian sex-morality-complex would seem to indicate that it was originally a reaction-formation, in the strictly Freudian sense of the term.

(4) Arabs vs. Jews and Christians. The dissociative acculturation of the Arab is set forth with admirable clarity by Vajda,<sup>50</sup> "La tradition musulmane condamne certains gestes, comme propres aux Juifs (ou aux Chrétiens)" (p. 83). The Jews were aware of this antagonism and resented it, saying of Mohammed "Cet homme ne veut laisser aucune de nos doctrines sans opposition" (p. 68, quoted from Muslim Şaḥiḥ Cairo 1329-1333). Vajda hence justly concludes: "Le premier principe qui régit l'attitude correcte du Musulman envers les gens du Livre (i.e. Jews and Christians) est la réaction contre toutes les pratiques qui leur sont propres, même si elles ne touchent ni à la foi, ni aux mœurs. Nous avons fait remarquer le parallélisme qui existe sur ce point entre le Judaïsme et l'Islam." (p. 123). We wish to draw attention to the fact, that Vajda constantly uses the term "tout," i.e., *all*. In other words, we find here a *complete* attempt at dissociative acculturation. This view, and our psychological explanation in terms of reaction-formation, is reinforced by the fact that Vajda is simply a learned Orientalist, and not in the least a psychologist looking for Freudian mechanisms. Yet the situation is obvious enough to enable him to note that in reality the *Hadit* condemns Mohammedan abuses by asserting that they belong to the customs of Jews and Christians (p. 124). The basic ambivalence present in all reaction-formations is made completely clear by the fact that "une tradition eschatologique . . . fait dire au prophète qu'avant le jugement dernier les Musulmans suivront pas à pas la manière d'agir de leur prédécesseurs. On lui demanda: "parles-tu des Juifs et des Chrétiens?" "De qui donc parlerai-je?" he replied. (Abū Hurayra's version of this incident speaks of the Persians and Romans, instead of the Jews and Christians, as the ultimate model of Mohammedan deportment) (p. 84). The above data speak for themselves.

(5) Axis vs. Democracies. Present-day Germany makes deliberate attempts to differentiate itself from "Jewish-Marxist-pluto-democracy."

In doing so, she frequently cuts off her nose to spite her face:

(a) By getting rid of desirable culture-traits and individuals. E.g., the expulsion of Jewish physicians, now sorely needed for the German war-effort.

(b) By violating her own codes and rules of logic. E.g., by declaring the Japanese and certain sorely needed Jews "honorary Aryans." (Cf. Goering's famous dictum, *à propos* of the half-Jewish General Milch: "I am the one to decide who is Aryan and who is not!")

Contemporary America similarly dissociates itself from the customs of the Axis, e.g., by giving the eight saboteurs more than a fair trial, and by explicitly justifying it as a proof that we are not like the Germans.

The above examples suffice to prove that we are speaking of very genuine phenomena indeed. Dissociative acculturation can be accomplished by means of three distinctive techniques: regression, differentiation, and negation.

A. *Regression*. This is the most common technique, and consists in reverting to the conduct-pattern obtaining before the contact took place, e.g., Gandhi's spinning-wheel and "diapers." A variation of this technique is the creation of an imaginary "super-past," in which Germans were super-Germanic, or Indians super-Indian. It is interesting to note that this ideal past state of affairs is brought back—or an attempt is made to bring it back—by means of techniques borrowed from, or influenced by, the culture whose very influence this process purports to negate.

A conspicuous example of this is the Ghost-dance religion, replete with culture-traits and ideas borrowed from Christianity, and used as a *means* to a native Plains-Indian *end*. The psychological understructure of this movement has been ably analyzed by Barber.<sup>51</sup> We might note that, according to Shimkin,<sup>52</sup> the Wind-River Shoshoni of Wyoming did not revert to the "old time religion" (i.e., the very modern

<sup>51</sup> B. Barber, Acculturation and Messianic Movements. *American Sociological Review*. 6:662-667. 1941.

<sup>52</sup> D. B. Shimkin, Dynamics of Recent Wind River Shoshone History. *American Anthropologist*, n.s. 44:451-462, 1942 (cf. pp. 459-461).

<sup>50</sup> G. Vajda, Juifs et Musulmans selon le Hadit. *Journal Asiatique*. 229:57-127, 1937.

Ghost-dance) until the economic advantages of their early alliance with the whites had petered out.

B. *Differentiation*. This technique is essentially an adaptation of the means segment of "overt-culture," but not of "covert-culture." It involves the creation of differential, but not negative, forms of conduct, under the stimulus of external contacts. The British "Oxford accent" is of this type, since it differentiates the upper classes from the lower-classes.

C. *Negation* involves the creation of customs which are the opposite of the customs of the neighbor. This is clearly manifest in the Semitic examples, and in the Arab instances referred to hereinabove. We are now prepared to attempt a psychological analysis of this type of acculturation, whose significance, despite its neglect by social scientists, is very great for an understanding of the historical process in general, and of social-cultural change in particular.

Perhaps the most obvious aspect of the problem is the element of ostentatious differentiation, or of "conspicuousness," in a strictly Veblen-ian sense of the word.<sup>53</sup> The factor of ostentatious differentiation is closely connected with invidious comparisons with the ostentatiously "NOT" imitated group. The customs created by negative suggestion are ostentatious "countermores," i.e., the outcome of what psychologists call "negative suggestibility." The "vices" or "patterns of misbehavior" or "latent culture patterns" of one group are often the "virtues" of their neighbors.

The existence of negative suggestibility need not puzzle us, in view of what has been said hereinabove, concerning the relationship between diffusion-resistances on the one hand, and "reaction-formation" on the other, particularly in connection with the projection of "the repressed" into the out-group. Society A is negatively suggestible to society B, because it defines the mores of society B in terms of its own culturally

repressed materials, as explained in an earlier section of this paper. One of us has described<sup>54</sup> the same mechanism in the criminal and other "socially negativistic" groups.

Briefly stated, the process is as follows: (1) psychic and social strain; (2) introjection of norms, and in-group feeling; (3) projection of the repressed, and formation of "out-group" concepts; (4) reaction-formation; (5) defining the out-group as the polar counter-type (*Gegentypus*); (6) dissociation from the outgroup's mores and the formation of "countermores," which express social negativism in a sublimated form, i.e., as a further developed reaction-formation. In naïve terms: "in order to be good one has to do the opposite of evil, evil being represented by the ways of the alien." This view is mirrored in the condemnation of socially rejected views and modes of behavior as "un-American," or, among the Hopi as "ka-Hopi" (un-Hopi).<sup>55</sup>

Acculturation of all types, and in particular antagonistic acculturation, is the outcome of a bilateral challenge resulting from socio-cultural contact. This challenge is frequently responded to autoplastically,<sup>56</sup> even where autoplasic behavior involves such superficially "alloplastic" behavior as active proselytizing, or such apparently neutral behavior as isolation. The autoplasic process is conspicuous even in the primarily alloplastic one of lending, or the passive one of

<sup>54</sup> G. Devereux, Social Negativism and Criminal Psychopathology. *Journal of Criminal Psychopathology*. 1:323-338, 1940.

<sup>55</sup> Simmons, *op. cit.* (p. 88).

<sup>56</sup> The contrast between autoplasic and alloplastic adjustment is fundamental in biology. In autoplasic adjustment the organism adapts itself to the environment by modifying itself. In alloplastic adaptation the organism modifies the environment in order to fit it to the needs of the organism. The process of autoplasic adjustment is best defined in terms of Le Chatelier's principle, as formulated by Enrico Fermi (*Thermodynamics*, New York, 1937, p. 111) "If the external conditions of a . . . system are altered, the equilibrium of the system will tend to move in such a direction as to oppose the change in the external conditions." For a justification of this mechanistic conception of a social process, cf. G. Devereux, A Conceptual Scheme of Society, *American Journal of Sociology*, 45:687-706, 1940.

<sup>53</sup> T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York, 1919.

borrowing, because of the change in the balance of power which lending involves, and because of the elaboration and incorporation process which borrowing necessitates.

It is the importance of the autoplasmic factor which enables us to conceive of resistances, means-diffusion and dissociative acculturation as aspects of the single broad phenomenon of antagonistic acculturation, which has perhaps received its most perfect formulation in the famous tongue-twister in the Koran (used as a test for intoxication):

*Surah CIX Al Kâfirûn* (The Disbelievers).

"In the name of Allah, the beneficent, the merciful. 1. Say: O disbelievers! 2. I worship not that which ye worship; 3. Nor worship ye that which I worship. 4. And I shall not worship that which ye worship. 5. Nor will ye worship that which I worship. 6. Unto you your

religion, and unto me my religion." (Revealed at Mecca.)<sup>57</sup>

Whether automatic or purposive—if indeed this distinction is a genuine one, which we doubt—the process of autoplasmic social-cultural change is one of the basic social trends. To lose sight of it means that we lose sight of all that matters in dynamic sociology, and relapse into the platitudinarianism of mere diffusionist theology. Diffusionists, at their worst, are the modern counterpart of the chronicle-writers, i.e., they are the bookkeepers of the great surge and ebb of human socio-cultural life. Our article is an instance of antagonistic acculturation to the theories of the diffusionists.

<sup>57</sup> M. Pickthal, *The Glorious Koran*. New York, 1930 (p. 673).



# THE HYPOTHESIS OF MEDIAN LOCATION

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IN ATTEMPTING to explain why men and institutions locate where they do within areas of human habitation, the interactional ecologist first should formulate tentative hypotheses which then can be tested by concrete field studies. The present article sets forth one such hypothesis—that of *median location*. At the present time this hypothesis rests mainly upon common sense assumptions and logical analyses rather than upon systematic observation and experiment. Its value depends upon its ability to help illuminate and explain a wide variety of observed facts of areal distribution and structure.

*Underlying assumptions that have been taken for granted.* The hypothesis of median location rests upon a number of assumptions which, without proof, have been accepted as true. Although most of these assumptions seem obvious, their explicit formulation may have value (1) as a means of recalling to memory certain basic items necessary to the analysis of areal structure, (2) as a check on unrealized loose thinking, and (3) as a stimulation to critical evaluation both of the assumptions themselves and of the hypothesis that rests upon them. These assumptions have been presented in summary form without critical comment.

1. Living human organisms utilize resources of the external natural environment in attempting to satisfy certain of their wants; and they attempt to escape the effects of recognized environmental dangers which cause them pain and discomfort or which threaten to prevent satisfaction of their wants.

2. The specific wants of any living human organism depend in part upon the needs of his biological body, in part upon culture, and in part upon his own unique interactional experiences.

3. The types and quantities of resources used by a human population depend in part upon what nature has made available, in part upon the culture which teaches men what re-

sources to use and how to use them, and in part upon their own bio-cultural, interactional experiences.

4. The nature and quantities of environmental dangers that affect areal structure depend in part upon natural living enemies and natural disasters, in part upon culture which teaches men to recognize and overcome dangers, and in small part upon man's own experiences.

5. Some of the factors of nature that affect men, including the space that may be occupied, are limited in quantity especially within a given local area but also within the entire earth.

6. In the course of his striving to satisfy wants and to escape dangers, each man decreases the available amounts of certain limited environmental resources or enemies and he increases the limited quantities of certain other environmental resources or enemies.

7. The ecological unit which occupies a position in any areal order may be (a) a single living organism, (b) a group which produces or consumes as a unit, or (c) any specialized function that occupies a spatial location of its own.

8. One chief factor in explaining areal structure and change is the influence of man on man, group on group, or specialized function on specialized function through increasing or decreasing limited factors of environment, including the space available for occupancy, on which others depend.

9. In general living organisms tend to follow the line of least resistance in obtaining environmental resources and escaping environmental dangers. When aware of two sources or two methods of securing environmental resources they tend, other things being equal, to use the one which seems to involve less cost or less danger.<sup>1</sup>

*The tendency toward minimum ecological distance.* Upon the basis of the foregoing

<sup>1</sup> This should not be interpreted to mean that man always acts wisely and rationally. On the contrary, his actions often depend upon culture bias. His conclusions are frequently based upon ignorance. Nevertheless, he tends, in general, to follow what seems to be the least dangerous and costly course.

assumptions one may venture the general statement that *ecological units tend to be distributed within an area so that the ecological distance traversed in adjusting to limited environmental factors and to other men is reduced to the minimum*. This principle applies both to free competitive situations and to planned cooperative communities. The ideal ecological location judged from the point of view of any single unit, other things being equal, is that which enables it to perform its functions and satisfy its needs with the minimum of effort, discomfort, and danger. In a planned community the ideal pattern of areal distribution, excluding purely social and aesthetic considerations, is that which minimizes the total ecological distance covered by all participants and all resources combined. Within a competitive system, mobile ecological units tend to achieve, as the result of ecological interaction, the ideal areal distributions and structures that would characterize communities planned in accordance with ecological principles.

#### THE HYPOTHESIS STATED

The hypothesis of median location constitutes one special implication of the tendency toward minimum ecological distance. This hypothesis rests upon the logically demonstrable assertion that less total distance will be traversed in order for all units to reach the median than would be traversed in reaching any other location. Upon the basis of this assertion coupled with the preceding assumptions the hypothesis states that within a free competitive system, social and aesthetic factors being equal, a mobile ecological unit tends to occupy a median location with respect to a combination of (1) the limited resources it utilizes, (2) the other units upon which it depends, and (3) the other units that it serves.<sup>2</sup>

Two basic concepts involved in the application of this hypothesis to the analysis of areal distribution and structure—namely the concepts of *ecological distance* and of

*median location*—may be examined briefly.

*What is ecological distance?* Sociologists generally admit that social distance differs fundamentally from linear spatial distance, but only a few recognize that a third kind of distance—ecological—differs from both of these others. Spatial distance, which in its narrowest sense is linear distance, may be measured in terms of feet or miles; social distance is described, if not measured, in terms of intimacy or of subordination-superordination; ecological distance may be measured in terms of costs of movement from one location to another (including time-cost, operating cost, depreciation and repair of equipment, etc.).<sup>3</sup> Ecological distance rather than spatial or linear distance should be used in applying the hypothesis of median location to ecological areal studies.

Because ecological distance is measured in terms of costs of movement from one location to another it depends directly upon available routes and modes of transportation. Seldom, if ever, can men or resources move with equal ease in every direction throughout an area; instead they ordinarily follow well-defined transportation routes. The ecological distance between two points theoretically includes all costs of transportation—time, energy, discomfort, money. For materials the cost distance may involve such items as freight, tariff, handling charges, storage, and deterioration of perishable goods. For men the cost distance involves the amount of time consumed in making the trip, the value of this time, fares and other money outlays, dangers and discomforts undergone, and damage to clothing and equipment. Actually the cost of transportation and, there-

<sup>2</sup> McKenzie has characterized ecological distance as time-cost distance, a usage which has generally been followed by those sociologists who recognize it as a special kind of distance. (See R. D. McKenzie, "The Scope of Human Ecology," *American Journal of Sociology*, 32:144-145, July, 1926.) Essentially the same notion of distance but not under the same name was expressed by Haig and McCrea in their discussion of "friction of space." (See R. M. Haig and R. C. McCrea, *Major Economic Factors in Metropolitan Growth and Arrangement*, New York, 1927.) See also, James A. Quinn "The Burgess Zonal Hypotheses and Its Critics," *American Sociological Review*.

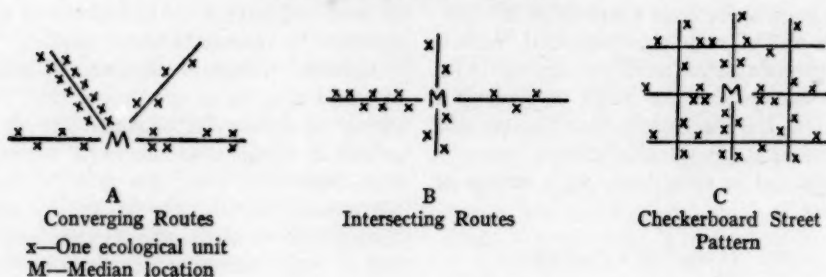
<sup>3</sup> The median location hypothesis does not explain areal position of ecological units with respect to environmental dangers.

fore, the ecological distance depends upon the route and methods of transportation used; ideally the ecological distance tends, all costs considered, to be determined by the cheapest route and type of transportation available to the unit at the time of its movement.

*What is median location?* The median has been defined as designating a point so chosen in a series that half of the individuals in the series are on one side of it and half on the other.<sup>4</sup> *Median location* refers, therefore, to a position in an area where half of the spatially distributed ecological units are

Because ecological distance depends directly upon transportation routes the ecological median must be computed in terms of the distribution of ecological units along these transportation lines. Along a single, non-branching transportation route the median is that location where equal numbers of units must move in either direction in order to reach it. In areas where transportation routes intersect or converge the median is that location from which if one moves in any direction along existing transportation lines he increases the distance between himself and half or more of the ecological units,

FIGURE 1. ILLUSTRATION OF MEDIAN LOCATION FOR UNITS DISTRIBUTED ALONG TRANSPORTATION ROUTES



on each side of it. In a one-dimensional distribution the median location is either (1) the position occupied by the center unit if the total number of units is odd, or (2) a position between the two most nearly central units if the total number is even. In a two-dimensional distribution assuming that transportation is equally easy in every direction, the median location lies approximately at the intersection of two perpendicular straight lines so drawn that each has an equal number of units on either side of it.<sup>5</sup> In computing the median only the numbers of units on either side need to be taken into account; relative distances from the median make no difference in determining where it lies.

<sup>4</sup>Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, Springfield, Mass., G. & C. Merriman Co., Publishers, 1936.

<sup>5</sup>This method yields only an approximation as may be seen from the fact that two different sets of perpendicular axes, each line of which bisects the distribution, may have different points of intersection.

and at the same time, decreases the distance between himself and less than half of these units. In these computations only the numbers of units whose ecological distances are increased or decreased respectively need to be taken into account; the actual amount of increase or decrease in relation to any ecological unit needs not be measured. Figure 1 illustrates the respective median locations for three distributions of units along converging and intersecting transportation lines.

For purposes of concrete areal analysis both men and resources must be taken into account in determining certain median locations. In order to achieve adjustment between a human population and limited factors of environment either men must move about the area in order to collect the resources they use, or resources must be transported to men, or both. Whatever units of men or resources are moved across ecological distance, these units must be counted in determining the median location.

The problem of reducing men and ma-



materials to a comparable basis for locating the ecological median has been solved only tentatively, and it deserves additional critical study. The tentative procedure here adopted reduces both to a standard cost-unit basis. A cost-unit consists of whatever amount of any factor may be transported across a standard linear distance at a unit of cost. For example, the cost-unit might be determined on the basis of one cent per mile. A cost-unit would consist of that quantity of any factor that can be transported one standard linear mile for one cent. If, therefore, a man travels by railroad at a total cost of two cents per mile he would equal two cost-units. Similarly, if the transportation of coal costs  $\frac{1}{2}\phi$  per ton per mile, two tons of coal would equal one cost-unit. A cost-unit of this sort may serve as a convenient ecological device for determining the median of those functional units which must transport both men and materials.

Certain steps may be suggested as possible guides in applying the cost-unit technique to the determination of the ecological median: (1) Choose a standard period of time—day, week, month, year—adapted to the study of a given functional unit. (2) Determine what factors—raw materials, power, labor, customers, finished products—and how much of each will, on the average, be transported to and from the functional unit during this standard period of time. (3) Prepare a map of the area showing the locations from which and to which various factors will be transported, and the amounts transported to or from each location. (4) Determine the cost of transporting across one standard unit of linear distance the total quantity of each factor to be moved from or to each respective spatial location. (6) Distribute these cost-units upon the map of the area along whatever transportation routes will be used. (7) Determine the median location for these cost-units by using the methods indicated in preceding paragraphs.

#### APPLICATIONS OF THE HYPOTHESIS

The value of the hypothesis of median location like that of any other scientific principle of explanation, depends upon its abil-

ity to help explain phenomena of experience and ultimately upon its aid in prediction and control. We turn, therefore, from formal explanation of the hypothesis itself to illustrative applications of it. The hypothesis should, if valid, enable business men, public administrators, and community planners to determine with greater accuracy the proper locations of those functional units for which they are immediately responsible. It should enable students of regions and communities to predict with greater accuracy the probable success or failure of specific functions at proposed locations. The reader should remember, however, that the hypothesis of median location has never yet been thoroughly tested through concrete areal research. The following applications should not, therefore, be interpreted as illustrating proved principles which administrators can safely follow at present. Instead these applications should be critically examined (1) as devices for testing the logical argument upon which the hypothesis rests, and (2) as aids in formulating concrete research problems by which to test the validity of the hypothesis itself. Moreover, the reader should remember that the hypothesis does not afford a complete explanation of areal organization.\*

The following materials illustrate how the median aids in understanding the locations of three types of functional units: (1) of non-profit service centers which need to locate primarily with respect to convenience of members; (2) of retail stores which need to locate at strategic points where they can compete successfully for customers' trade; and (3) of industries which best locate where factors of production can be assembled and finished products shipped to market with greatest economy.

*Convenience locations for non-profit service centers.* A public school or a church may be taken as an example of a non-profit service center. A functional unit of this type ordinarily uses only a minimum of material supplies which, for practical purposes, may be neglected in calculating its proper location. Consequently the effective location of

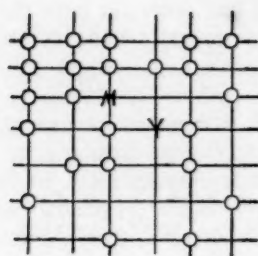
\* See last section of this article.

a service center depends, except for competition of other functions for this same site,<sup>7</sup> upon its accessibility to those who use it. Since the median point can be reached more easily than any other place it affords greatest travel convenience to the church or school population.

The advantage of locating a school at the median of those who use it may be demonstrated by the following illustrations. (See Figure 2.) For purposes of simplicity assume (1) that only pupils, teachers, and janitor use the school building; (2) that each of these persons makes the same num-

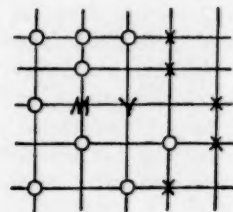
If different persons attend the school with unequal frequency each should be weighted according to the number of trips he makes.<sup>8</sup> Assume a simple distribution as shown in Figure 2B. Fourteen persons, located as indicated by circles and crosses, attend the school each week. Teachers and pupils, designated by circles, each makes five trips per week; club members, designated by crosses, attend once per week. The distance covered per week by all these persons in making round trips from home to school would total 236 blocks if the school were located at the weighted median, M, but

FIGURE 2



A

M—Median; Y—a less convenient location; O—one unit of school population.



B

M—weighted median; Y—a less convenient location; O—one unit that attends school five times per week; X—one unit that attends once per week.

ber of trips to school; (3) that each trip costs an equal amount per unit of distance; and (4) that the population is distributed along a checkerboard street system as indicated in Figure 2A. The median location, M, requires a total of 144 blocks travel in order for the total school population to make one single round trip from home to school. In contrast, a total of 160 blocks travel would be required for a round trip to Y. Experimental comparison of the median with any other point will show that the former can be reached more easily by the total school population.

<sup>7</sup> Location with respect to other competing functions requires the formulation of an additional hypothesis to supplement that of median location. This further hypothesis, another special application of the principle of minimum ecological distance, need not be presented here.

would total 256 blocks if located at Y. The weighted median of all participants affords the location which can be most easily reached. Other things being equal, the school best locates at this point of greatest convenience.

*Strategic competitive locations for retail stores.* Retail stores differ from schools in that they must obtain stocks of goods for distribution to customers. Except, however, for those retail outlets that dispense bulky goods which are difficult to transport, customers far outweigh material goods in de-

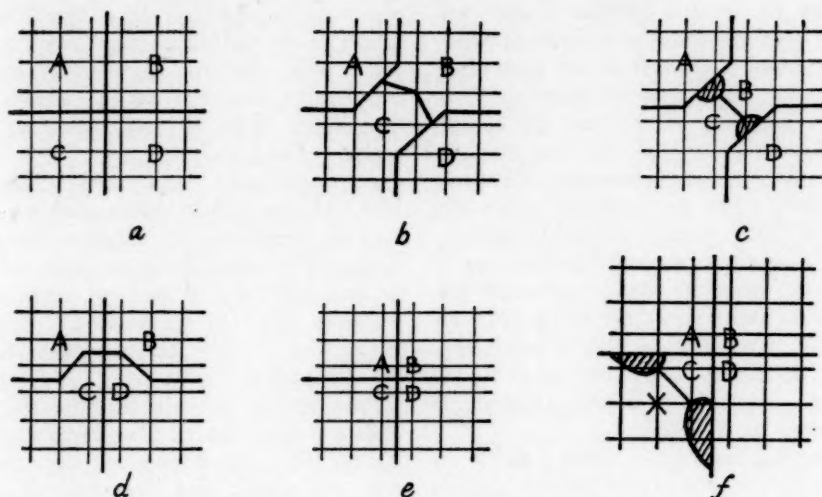
<sup>8</sup> Moreover, if the cost of travel differs for various persons each should be weighted according to this cost. All costs of travel across a standard unit of distance—time, money, waste, danger—should be taken into account in weighting these units. The median may then be computed in terms of cost-units as previously indicated.

termining the advantageous location. The following discussion has been limited to those types of retail stores whose locations depend principally upon their customers.

The location of stores may be examined from two points of view which do not necessarily coincide—(1) that of the consuming population whose convenience is the chief consideration, and (2) that of the merchant whose interest centers in profits and who strives for that location where he can attract the larger number of customers. With-

considerations underlying the location of retail stores. Let each of the figures of this chart represent a checkerboard street pattern with the population distributed uniformly along every street. For purposes of simplicity assume that all of the people living along both sides of a street between intersections equals one population unit and that only the complete blocks are inhabited. The total of 60 population units will trade at the retail stores of the area. Assume, further, that at least 13 population units are

FIGURE 3



Service areas of identical retail stores within a community, assuming various distributions. A, B, C, D, X = identical retail stores. Shaded areas are equally convenient to two stores: B and C in figure c; and C and X in figure f.

in a non-competitive community retail stores might be regarded merely as service centers to be located at points of greatest accessibility to customers. Within a competitive system, however, when several stores vie for the trade of an area, individual merchants, each thinking of his own profits, may choose strategic locations that decrease the distance travelled by the total of shoppers. Since the economy of American communities is essentially competitive this latter point of view has been emphasized in the following discussion.

The accompanying chart (See Figure 3) may be used to illustrate some elementary

necessary to support a profitable retail store, making a maximum of four such stores possible within the area; that each store offers identical goods and services at the same prices; that each customer makes the same number of trips, at equal costs, and that he purchases equal amounts of goods that yield equal profits to the merchants. What will be the tendencies in the distribution of stores under these conditions?

The greatest convenience to customers will be gained when the maximum number of stores which the population can support actually operate within the community and



when each store stands at the median of its own exclusive trade area. Figure 3a, with stores A, B, C, D spread evenly throughout the area minimizes the ecological distance required for shopping under the conditions assumed above. No other distribution of these stores affords equal convenience to the consuming population.

A merchant may, however, make greater profit under certain conditions by moving closer to the center of the larger community. If, for example, stores A, B, and D retain their original locations, C may profit by moving to a more central point as shown in Figure 3b. In this location C can presumably draw the trade of 20 units of population whereas A, B, and D can draw from only 13, 14, and 13 units respectively. If B or D decide to join C near the center, as in Figures 3c and 3d, the two centrally located stores can each command the trade of 17 units while the outlying stores can command only 13 units each. If, however, all stores move to central locations, as in Figure 3e, each can again command the trade of 15 units and none has a competitive location superior to that of any other. When, therefore, one merchant moves toward the center he puts pressure upon his competitors to do likewise.

Movement toward the center, which involves abandonment of the median location of one's own customers, introduces serious potential dangers. For example, assume that after the four stores A, B, C, D, have moved to central locations a fifth store, X, attempts to invade the area and locates at the position indicated in Figure 3f. This invader can draw trade from only 10 units, but C, which has been bottled up by the invasion, can draw from only 5 units. In the ensuing struggle for existence X has a better chance for survival than C. If, however, C had remained at the median of its own customers it would have enjoyed equal or superior location as contrasted with any possible invader. This threat of potential invasion puts pressure upon merchants to retain a position at the median of their own customers even though they may lose some trade to competitors who take a chance and

move toward the center.

The preceding discussion has assumed that retail stores offer identical prices and services, and that no social factors complicate the situation. Under these conditions the two pressures—(1) toward the median of its own customers, and (2) toward the center of the larger area—both operate to determine the actual distribution of stores. In the long run, however, under conditions of complete mobility and free competition, the former pressure would be stronger and identical stores would distribute themselves somewhat evenly throughout the area. Thus, under these conditions stores would tend to locate at the median of their own exclusive trade area, and the distribution under a competitive economy would coincide with that which would be most convenient under a planned economy.

Of course most retail stores do not offer identical goods and services, and social factors do complicate the situation. In certain communities trade tends to follow religious or national lines. If each of these various elements of the population is dispersed throughout the area the median of customers for each store may fall close together. Consequently stores and agencies that serve different elements of the population may cluster together. Moreover, the merchant who can attract customers because of better service or lower prices may locate near the center of a larger area where he can draw trade long distances notwithstanding the competition from neighborhood stores. In each of the above cases, however, the merchant best locates at the median of the customers he serves.

Competing stores that offer goods which customers wish to compare before buying tend to locate near one another. The customer who wishes to "shop around" will tend to go, other things being equal, to that center where he can examine the greater variety in styles, colors, and prices. For this reason department stores tend to concentrate in great shopping areas, and specialized stores that carry competing lines tend to concentrate in well-defined trade areas. Once a shopping area has been established

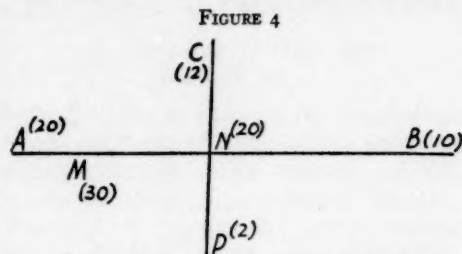
it attracts potential customers to it. The merchant who subsequently wishes an advantageous location with respect to this volume of potential trade calculates in terms of the distribution of shopping throngs within the business area rather than in terms of the residences of these customers. Satellite shops locate with reference to the median of those potential aggregations of customers which other stores have attracted to the business area.

Retail stores which involve different degrees of specialization tend to show contrasting patterns of distribution within an area. The neighborhood grocery may glean an adequate profit from a population numbering only a few hundred, but a specialized men's hat store or a luxury jewelry shop may require a population of several thousand. The median locations for establishments of these various sorts obviously occur at different points within a large trade area. Stores tend to concentrate in business centers of various sizes and types ranging from (1) the small local "convenience" center which sells goods that are relatively highly standardized in price and quality and which are purchased frequently in small amounts to (2) the huge central business area with its wide range of comparative shopping facilities, its highly specialized services, and its expensive luxury goods. The present discussion does not attempt to characterize these various types of retail centers or to list the kinds of functions performed in each. It merely indicates how the hypothesis of median location offers a partial explanation for the distribution of each type of retail store that locates in these commercial complexes.

*Efficiency locations for factories.* The factory owner presumably seeks the location where his plant can supply goods to the market with least cost. In choosing this location he takes into account (1) the costs of various factors of production—raw materials, power, labor, capital—in different communities, and (2) the price of his finished products in various markets. In addition, he attempts to select that location where he can reduce to the minimum the

combined transportation costs (1) of assembling the factors of production which he actually uses, and (2) of shipping goods to those markets where he sells. The hypothesis of median location should enable him to select the point at which these transportation costs can be reduced to a minimum.

For present purposes we may assume (1) that the actual techniques of manufacturing can be carried on with equal efficiency in



A, B, C = locations of raw materials; p = source of power; M, N = markets at which finished products are sold. Numbers in parentheses indicate per mile costs of transportation to or from each source per 500 units of finished products. Weighted median at M marks the most efficient location for factory.

any location, (2) that the cost of each factor of production, at its source, remains constant, and (3) that the selling price of finished products is the same at different markets. Assume, further, that labor and capital are sufficiently mobile so that they can be attracted to any location and that the manufacturer does not pay transportation costs on them. Under these conditions the most efficient site for a factory is at the weighted median of raw materials, power, and market.

For purposes of illustration assume that in order to produce 500 units of finished products a manufacturer must use power (p) and three raw materials (A, B, C). Assume further, that transportation costs will be 50 cents per mile for the 500 units of finished products, 2 cents per mile for power, and 20 cents, 10 cents and 12 cents respectively for the raw materials necessary to produce these 500 units. With these various items distributed throughout an

area along transportation routes as shown in Figure 4, the most efficient location of the factory will be at M. Movement of the factory from M toward N would increase the total transportation costs 6 cents per mile per 500 units of finished products; whereas movement toward A would increase transportation costs 54 cents per mile. The weighted median is the point of lowest transportation costs and, therefore, other things being equal, determines the most efficient location of the factory.

#### SOME LIMITATIONS UPON THE HYPOTHESIS

*Difficulty of applying the hypothesis to changing conditions.* The preceding discussion has assumed either stationary population and resources or complete mobility of all units so that they can move as the median shifts from place to place. Neither condition characterizes modern communities or regions and, therefore, the median ordinarily needs to be determined in relation to a changing population. This problem of estimating, within a changing situation, the median location for any ecological unit over a considerable period, is extremely difficult. Ideally the median must be calculated in terms of the total number of units that move to or away from the site during the entire time that the function occupies it. In practice, the application of this principle requires (1) the estimate of the length of time that a functional unit will occupy a given site, and (2) estimates of the number and distribution of ecological units that serve this function or are served by it throughout the period of its occupancy of this site. Obviously the hypothesis of median location cannot aid in making these estimates themselves; it can aid only in selecting the most advantageous location in terms of whatever estimates are accepted.

*The hypothesis affords only a partial explanation of areal structure.* The preceding pages have repeatedly indicated that the hypothesis of median location does not

account for all factors and processes that affect the spatial structure of an area. The fact that this hypothesis affords only a partial explanation should, perhaps, be further emphasized by summarizing certain other important influences that affect areal structure:

Additional hypotheses of interactional ecology must be used to supplement that of median location. For example, the struggle of unlike competing functions for a strategic site may force some of them to move away from their own respective medians. This aspect of areal structure cannot be completely analyzed in terms of the median location hypothesis as set forth above.

Various geographic and social factors influence areal structure as truly as does ecological interaction. The distribution of natural resources sets the framework within which ecological interaction occurs. Climate, which affects human energy; geographic barriers which lead to breaks in transportation routes; traditional patterns of settlement; cultural biases which make men violate their own convenience; social ties and prejudices which pull certain men together while they keep others apart; and mistakes in human judgment all play parts in explaining areal distribution and structure.

Two observations may be re-emphasized in conclusion. (1) Even an inadequate or incorrect formulation of an hypothesis may have value if presented only as a tentative formulation. Once it has been clearly stated it makes possible the easier determination of its own inadequacy, and, by doing so, prepares the way for a more adequate hypothesis. (2) Median location is only one of  $n$ -variables that affect areal structure. The fact that other  $n$ -variables also operate does not negate the value of the one that is being studied. Median location, like all other scientific principles, is an abstraction from reality which never corresponds exactly to total observed reality.

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## FAMILY STATUS OF MEN OF MILITARY AGE\*

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Seven million men were in the armed forces at the beginning of 1943. If this number is to be increased to 12 million, it is likely that 4 million married couples will be separated, including one-third of all those in which the husband is under 38, and one-sixth of all men under 38 who have children. The numerous consequences of such a widespread dislocation of the Nation's manpower present an important field of social science research for at least the next decade. [Ed.]

THE United States has nearly 29 million men between 18 and 44 years old, of whom at least one-third will probably be in training for, or actively fighting in, the present war by the end of 1943. Although there are approximately 10 million single men within these age limits, perhaps one-third of these men will be deferred for physical or occupational reasons, or for pre-induction training in colleges. Consequently, several million married men will be required to complete the quota of men for the armed services.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze these 29 million men "of military age" according to several characteristics, in order to point out the groups with the greatest likelihood of being drafted. These characteristics include their age distribution, marital status, number of dependents, educational attainments, and occupational backgrounds. Each characteristic is considered separately for family heads and for other persons. The paper includes in a summary section an approximate distribution by family status of the men who may constitute the armed forces by the end of 1943.

*Age distribution and family status.* Special emphasis has been placed upon the necessity of including a large percentage of young single men in the armed forces, because these men are the most responsive to military training and because they have

less binding family ties than men in the older groups with dependents. Of the 8.5 million men estimated to be in the age group 18 to 24 years at the end of this year, the proportion single will be about 75 percent; the remaining 25 percent (nearly all married) will be about evenly divided into those having, and those not having, children (see tables 1 and 2).<sup>1</sup>

In ordinary times only about three-fourths of the men under 25 years old who marry establish a separate family.<sup>2</sup> During the last three years the proportion of married men under 25 years old who were heads of families probably dropped to about two-thirds. It is likely that a larger proportion of the young married men who have established their own families have been deferred because of dependents than of those who have

<sup>1</sup> There have been unusually high marriage rates during 1940, 1941, and 1942, namely, 11.9, 12.6, and about 13.3 per 1,000 of the population, respectively, as compared with an average annual marriage rate of 9.8 for the period 1930 to 1939. As a result, there are now probably 1,000,000 more married men (civilians and drafted men) of all ages in the United States than there would have been if the marriage rates had not increased. The monthly marriage rates were falling during the last half of 1942, and it is reasonable to expect that the marriage rate in 1943 will be several points below the rate for 1942.

<sup>2</sup> A family, as defined by the Census Bureau, is a group of related persons living together as one household and sharing common housekeeping arrangements. A person who lives alone is also counted as a family. The head of a family is the person considered as the head by the members of the family; usually the head is the chief breadwinner, but he may be a parent of the chief breadwinner or the only adult member of the family.

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TABLE 1. MARITAL STATUS AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIP OF MALES 18 TO 44 YEARS OLD, BY AGE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1940

(Number of males shown in thousands. Based on Sample B)

Marital Status and Family Relationship	18 to 44 years		Males 18 to 44 Years Old, by Age				35 to 44 years	
	Number	Percent	18 to 24 years	25 to 34 years	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<b>Marital Status</b>								
Total.....	27,879	100.0	8,162	100.0	10,516	100.0	9,202	100.0
Single.....	10,780	38.7	6,485	79.5	3,011	28.6	1,283	13.9
Married, wife present....	15,736	56.4	1,523	18.7	6,990	66.5	7,223	78.5
Other marital status.....	1,363	4.9	154	1.9	514	4.9	695	7.6
<b>Family Relationship</b>								
Total.....	27,581	100.0	8,091	100.0	10,412	100.0	9,078	100.0
Head of family.....	15,009	54.4	1,252	15.5	6,501	62.4	7,256	79.9
Not head of family.....	12,572	45.6	6,839	84.5	3,910	37.6	1,822	20.1
Single.....	10,002	36.3	6,313	78.0	2,703	26.0	985	10.8
Other marital status....	2,570	9.3	526	6.5	1,207	11.6	838	9.2

\* Excludes males with years of school completed not reported (about one percent).

"doubled up" with another family. After an allowance is made for these family characteristics as well as for the fact that at least 20 percent will probably be deferred for physical, occupational, or educational reasons,<sup>3</sup> it may be expected that about 6

million, or 70 percent, of the men 18 to 24 years old will have been inducted into the armed services by the end of 1943.

A much smaller proportion of the men 25 to 34 years old may expect to be called to military duties. During 1943, the num-

TABLE 2. FAMILIES WITH MALE HEAD UNDER 45 YEARS OLD, BY MARITAL STATUS AND AGE OF HEAD, BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS OLD, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1940

(Number of families shown in thousands. Based on Sample D)

Marital Status and Age of Head	Families with male head under 45 years old		Families Having—		
	No children under 18	1 child under 18	2 children under 18	3 or more under 18	
<b>Number of Families</b>					
Male head under 45 years old.....	15,145	4,700	4,043	3,165	3,237
Married, wife present.....	14,154	3,919	3,953	3,107	3,175
Head under 20 years old.....	51	31	16	3	2
Head 20 to 34 years old.....	7,272	2,314	2,319	1,517	1,123
Head 35 to 44 years old.....	6,830	1,574	1,619	1,586	2,051
Other marital status.....	991	781	90	58	61
<b>Percent Distribution</b>					
Male head under 45 years old.....	100.0	31.0	26.7	20.9	21.4
Married, wife present.....	100.0	27.7	27.9	22.0	22.4
Head under 20 years old.....	100.0	59.7	30.2	6.5	3.5
Head 20 to 34 years old.....	100.0	31.8	31.9	20.9	15.4
Head 35 to 44 years old.....	100.0	23.0	23.7	23.2	30.0
Other marital status.....	100.0	78.8	9.1	5.9	6.2

<sup>3</sup> An analysis of 19,500 men registered under the Selective Service Act prior to May 31, 1941 showed that 15 percent of those 21 to 24 years old were disqualified for military service because of their physical condition; the corresponding percentages for men 25 to 34 years old and 35 or 36 years old were 24 and 34 percent, respectively. See *Selective Service in Peacetime*, First Report of the Director

of Selective Service, 1940-41, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1942, page 211. For a general discussion of classes of deferment, see Oliver Harold Folk, "Selective Service's Medical Statistics Program," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. 37, No. 220, December, 1942, pages 425 to 429.

ber of men in this age group should reach about 10.8 million. Of these men, about 4 million, or less than 40 percent, will be single men or married, widowed, or divorced men without children. Furthermore, among the men in this age class, 4 out of 10 are not heads of families. The net result of the factors that are considered in making de-

men have a wife and at least one child living with them. The various factors in the situation make it reasonable to assume that less than 0.5 million, or between 10 and 20 percent, of the men 35 to 37 years old will be inducted.

During the operation of the Selective Service System prior to December, 1942,

TABLE 3. YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, RACE, AND FAMILY STATUS OF MALES 18 TO 44 YEARS OLD, BY AGE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1940

(Number of males shown in thousands. Based on Sample B)

Race, Family Status, and Years of School Completed	18 to 44 years		Males 18 to 44 Years Old, by Age				35 to 44 years	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	18 to 24 years Num- ber	Per- cent	25 to 34 years Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Total*	27,581	100.0	8,091	100.0	10,412	100.0	9,078	100.0
Grade School: Under 4 years..	1,459	5.3	315	3.9	475	4.6	668	7.4
4 to 8 years....	11,460	41.5	2,431	30.0	4,225	40.6	4,803	52.9
High school: 1 to 3 years....	5,868	21.3	2,169	26.8	2,214	21.3	1,485	16.4
4 years.....	5,400	19.6	2,263	28.0	2,052	19.7	1,084	11.9
College: 1 year or more..	3,396	12.3	913	11.3	1,445	13.9	1,038	11.4
White.....	24,856	100.0	7,274	100.0	9,391	100.0	8,192	100.0
Under 9 years of school.....	10,772	43.3	2,169	29.8	3,897	41.5	4,706	57.4
9 years or more of school.....	14,085	56.7	5,105	70.2	5,494	58.5	3,486	42.6
Head of family.....	13,590	100.0	1,082	100.0	5,900	100.0	6,608	100.0
Under 9 years of school.....	6,655	49.0	401	37.1	2,488	42.2	3,767	57.0
9 years or more of school.....	6,935	51.0	681	62.9	3,412	57.8	2,842	43.0
Not head of family.....	11,266	100.0	6,192	100.0	3,491	100.0	1,583	100.0
Under 9 years of school.....	4,116	36.5	1,768	28.6	1,409	40.4	939	59.3
9 years or more of school.....	7,150	63.5	4,424	71.4	2,082	59.6	644	40.7
Negro.....	2,585	100.0	778	100.0	968	100.0	840	100.0
Under 9 years of school.....	2,063	79.8	561	72.2	772	79.7	731	87.0
9 years or more of school.....	522	20.2	216	27.8	197	20.3	109	13.0
Other races.....	139	100.0	39	100.0	53	100.0	47	100.0
Under 9 years of school.....	83	59.7	16	40.4	32	61.3	35	7.9
9 years or more of school.....	56	40.3	23	59.6	21	38.7	12	26.1

\* Excludes males with years of school completed not reported (about one percent of white and two percent of nonwhite).

ferments may be that approximately 4 million, or 35 to 40 percent, of the men in the age group 25 to 34 years old will be drafted.

By far the smallest proportion of selectees may be expected from the group of men 35 to 44 years old. Because of the present policy with regard to the deferment of men who are 38 years old and over, a separate discussion of men 35 to 37 years old and of those 38 to 44 years old will be presented. Although there are nearly 3 million men 35 to 37 years old, about 60 percent of these

probably fewer than 0.5 million of the 6.6 million men 38 to 44 years old were inducted into the Army. The incidence of dependents among these men is high, and a relatively large proportion of the men were deferred for physical or occupational reasons. Following an executive order issued in December, 1942, the drafting of men 38 years old and over was discontinued; in March, 1943, the Director of the War Manpower Commission amended the Selective Service Regulations so that the drafting of



men 38 to 44 years old would be renewed in May, 1943.<sup>4</sup> During the period between these two changes of policy, some of the drafted men over 37 years old returned to civilian duties in "essential" war industries.<sup>5</sup>

*Educational attainment and family status.* The requirements of modern warfare place a premium upon men with an adequate educational training. Persons with this type of preparation respond most readily to military instructions and orders. Particularly during peacetime conscription, many of the men with a meager educational background have been deferred and many others have been assigned to limited military service. This policy has probably been relaxed as the demand for recruits has increased.

Nearly 1.5 million men of military age have not completed the fourth grade of elementary school, because of lack of opportunity or lack of ability (see table 3). These men, constituting 3.3 percent of the whites and 23.4 percent of the Negroes 18 to 44 years old, are concentrated largely among the older men and probably include a large proportion of the men who have been deferred on the basis of their educational background or performance on tests of mental ability.

The American soldier in the present war, however, is better educated by far than his predecessor in the first World War. Nearly 70 percent of the men in the Army in the spring of 1942 had attended high school, as compared with only about 20 percent of those in the Army during the first World War.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Executive Order 9279, *Federal Register*, Vol. 7, No. 239, December 8, 1942; and Amendment 133 of Selective Service Regulations, *Federal Register*, Vol. 8, No. 47, March 9, 1943, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

<sup>5</sup> For an extensive treatment of the effects of the war upon different aspects of social life, see the November, 1942 issue of the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 47, No. 6. See particularly the article by Philip M. Hauser, "Population and Vital Phenomena," pages 309 to 322, in which he discusses, among other things, the "hollow classes" in the age structure that leave a "demographic scar" upon the population surviving a war with heavy casualties.

<sup>6</sup> "The Educational Level of Men of Military

The rapid improvement of the educational level of the men in the general population during the last generation is evident from a comparison of the figures in table 3 for the three age classes. About 39 percent of the men 18 to 24 years old in 1940 were high school graduates, as compared with 23 percent of those 35 to 44 years old. A comparison of the three age groups with regard to college training is affected by the fact that many of the men in the youngest age group were not old enough to have entered college. Among the middle group, however, 14 percent had completed at least one year of college, as compared with 11 percent of the oldest group.

The men under 25 years old who are family heads have less education, on the average, than those who are not family heads. Since most of the heads of families are married, this tendency is evidence that early marriage is generally associated with lower educational attainment. Beyond the age of 25 years, there seems to be little relation between family status and years of school completed.

*Occupational background and family status.* The great majority of men who were drafted during the early stages of selective induction were men in the younger ages, and, since few of these men were difficult to replace in civilian activities connected with the war effort, the problem of occupational deferment was not so acute as it is now. The growing pressure upon our supply of manpower to furnish the fighting equipment and civilian goods needed by the Allied Nations is perhaps the main factor responsible for the increasing regard to occupational deferment.

The men 18 to 24 years old are concentrated largely in occupations requiring limited skill and the older men are more often found in occupations requiring the accumulation of skill (see table 4). For example, a fourth of the white males under 25 years old were laborers, as compared with

Age in the United States," release prepared jointly by the Special Service Branch of the War Department and the Bureau of the Census and issued by the Bureau of the Census as Series P-9, No. 15, June 20, 1942.

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an eighth of those 35 to 44 years old.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, only 4 percent of the youngest group were working in professional, proprietary, or managerial capacities, whereas 17.5 percent of the oldest group were classified in these categories. Craftsmen (for the most part skilled workers) and farmers (farm operators and managers) showed a similar concentration in the older classes.

Since 22.6 percent of the white males 18 to 24 years old were either outside the labor force or were new workers who had not yet

no doubt, highly eligible to be drafted, not only because of their occupational status but also because only a small proportion of them were married.

Among those men reporting an occupation, the groups least often receiving occupational deferment have probably been the clerical workers, service workers, and laborers. The family status of the men in these occupational groups tends to accentuate the greater likelihood of their being drafted. They have higher percentages of single men

TABLE 4. MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP OF WHITE MALES 18 TO 44 YEARS OLD, BY AGE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1940

(Number of males shown in thousands. Based on Sample B)

Major Occupation Group	White Males 18 to 44 Years Old, by Age							
	18 to 44 years		18 to 24 years		25 to 34 years		35 to 44 years	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Total <sup>a</sup> .....	24,856	100.0	7,274	100.0	9,391	100.0	8,192	100.0
Prof. and semiprofessional.....	1,311	5.3	173	2.3	636	6.8	503	6.1
Farmers and farm managers.....	1,979	8.0	262	3.6	797	8.5	920	11.2
Proprietors and managers, exc. farm.....	1,722	6.9	123	1.7	667	7.1	932	11.4
Clerical and kindred workers.....	3,338	13.4	907	12.5	1,377	14.7	1,054	12.9
Craftsmen and kindred workers.....	3,254	13.1	504	6.9	1,292	13.8	1,458	17.8
Operatives and kindred workers.....	4,890	19.7	1,333	18.3	2,111	22.5	1,446	17.6
Service workers, exc. protective.....	822	3.3	242	3.3	299	3.2	281	3.4
Protective service workers.....	433	1.7	147	2.0	137	1.5	150	1.8
Laborers, including farm.....	4,364	17.6	1,788	24.6	1,575	16.8	1,001	12.2
Occupation not reported <sup>b</sup> .....	2,742	11.0	1,795	24.7	500	5.3	447	5.5

<sup>a</sup> Excludes males with years of school completed not reported (about one percent).

<sup>b</sup> Includes males not in the labor force during the census week of March 24 to 30, 1940, new workers, and experienced workers for whom no occupation was reported.

entered an occupation, it is not surprising that a fourth of all males in this age group reported no occupation in 1940. (Only about one in twenty of those in the older groups were without a reported occupation.) The men reporting no occupation included large numbers of students and new workers seeking work and relatively small numbers of inmates of institutions, men unable to work, and experienced workers for whom no report on occupation was obtained. Except for the inmates and those unable to work, most of the men reporting no occupation were,

and lower percentages of family heads than the men reporting other occupations.

It should be noted that the farm population has declined considerably during the war, not only because of the draft but also because of the migration of farm laborers to urban centers with war industries.<sup>8</sup>

*Family status, education, and occupation.* The interrelations among the family status, educational level, occupational group, and

<sup>8</sup>For further treatment of economic problems created by the war, see the March, 1943 issue of the *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. 38, No. 221. See particularly the article by Henry S. Shryock, Jr., "Internal Migration and the War," and the article by William H. Mautz and John D. Durand, "Population and War Labor Supply."

<sup>7</sup>Corresponding data for nonwhite males are not available from the tabulation upon which table 4 is based. Other tabulations show that the pattern is similar for whites and nonwhites.

age distribution of white men 18 to 44 years old in the United States is given in table 5.<sup>9</sup>

In the interest of the best national policy, it would be preferable to induct men who are not heads of families; who have attained at least some high school education; who are not engaged in key occupations; and who have not reached their thirty-fifth birthday.

reduce the industrial manpower of the Nation. The drafting of another 5 or 6 million men, however, would create more problems of a sociological and economic nature.

*Summary: Family status of men in the armed forces.* At the end of 1942, about 7 million men were in the armed forces of the United States.<sup>10</sup> If the present recom-

TABLE 5. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE MALES 18 TO 44 YEARS OLD, BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED AND MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP, BY FAMILY STATUS AND AGE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1940

(Based on Sample B)

Years of School Completed and Major Occupation Group	White Males 18 to 44 Years Old							
	Head of family				Not head of family			
	18-44 years	18-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	18-44 years	18-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years
Under 9 years of school <sup>a</sup> .....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Prof. and semiprofessional.....	0.8	0.4	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.3	0.8	1.0
Farmers and farm managers.....	16.6	17.6	16.2	16.7	5.2	4.0	6.3	6.1
Proprietors and managers, exc. farm...	5.7	1.3	3.7	7.5	1.7	0.5	2.0	3.8
Clerical and kindred workers.....	5.8	3.2	5.1	6.5	5.2	3.7	6.0	7.0
Craftsmen and kindred workers.....	17.9	8.7	15.4	20.6	9.2	5.4	10.6	14.3
Operatives and kindred workers.....	25.3	25.5	28.9	23.0	19.5	17.3	23.0	18.2
Service workers.....	4.6	2.6	3.8	5.3	6.2	5.2	6.0	8.3
Laborers, including farm.....	20.1	37.4	23.6	15.9	35.8	45.0	32.1	24.1
Occupation not reported <sup>b</sup> .....	3.2	3.3	2.6	3.6	16.5	18.6	13.2	17.3
9 years or more of school <sup>a</sup> .....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Prof. and semiprofessional.....	11.6	4.6	11.3	13.7	6.0	3.0	10.7	10.9
Farmers and farm managers.....	7.2	7.5	6.9	7.3	2.3	1.6	3.3	3.8
Proprietors and managers, exc. farm...	14.3	5.2	11.9	19.2	4.0	1.7	6.7	10.7
Clerical and kindred workers.....	20.3	17.8	20.3	21.0	18.6	16.0	22.7	23.1
Craftsmen and kindred workers.....	15.5	13.2	15.3	16.3	8.5	6.4	11.4	12.9
Operatives and kindred workers.....	17.6	27.8	20.4	11.8	16.5	16.6	17.9	11.4
Service workers.....	3.9	4.1	3.9	3.9	5.9	5.8	5.9	6.6
Laborers, including farm.....	7.3	16.4	8.1	4.2	14.6	16.5	12.5	8.5
Occupation not reported <sup>b</sup> .....	2.3	3.3	1.9	2.6	23.7	32.3	8.9	12.1

<sup>a</sup> Excludes males with years of school completed not reported (about one percent). Note that the number of males corresponding to 100 percent in each instance in this table is shown in table 3.

<sup>b</sup> Includes males not in the labor force during the census week of March 24 to 30, 1940, new workers, and experienced workers for whom no occupation was reported.

Of the 19 million men between 18 and 34 years old, it is estimated that about 6 million meet all of these qualifications. If 5 million of these men are drafted, approximately one-half of the armed forces would consist of men who were not family heads and who were sufficiently young and well-educated to be trained for the operation of modern implements of warfare; and the recruitment of these men would not seriously

menagements of military officials are followed, an additional 3 million to 5 million men will be inducted during 1943, bringing the total to 10 million or 12 million.<sup>11</sup> Those in the services before this year represented approximately 30 percent of all men 18 to 37 years old, inclusive, and those who will be added to the military forces after the first of this year may amount to another

<sup>9</sup> More detailed classifications of each subject presented in this table will be shown in a bulletin prepared jointly by the Special Services Branch of the War Department and the Census Bureau and entitled "Education, Occupation, and Household Relationship of Males 18 to 44 Years Old."

<sup>10</sup> President Roosevelt's message to Congress on the state of the Nation, delivered on January 7, 1943.

<sup>11</sup> At the time this paper was in proof (March, 1943), Congress was debating the problem of limiting the size of the armed services. A figure mentioned prominently as the goal for 1943 was 10.8 million.



10 or 20 percent. The relatively small number of men 38 to 44 years old under arms includes professional military officers and men as well as many who were formerly in the military reserves.

A summary of the probable distribution of males "of military age" in the general population and in the armed forces is given in the form of unofficial estimates in table 6.

about three-fourths of the men 18 and 19 years old who had not previously entered the armed forces, as well as a third of the remaining childless married men and a small proportion of the married men with children.

If still another 2 million men are inducted, about half of them will probably be childless married men who are family heads and most of the other half may be married family

TABLE 6. UNOFFICIAL ESTIMATES OF THE NUMBER OF MALES 18 TO 44 YEARS OLD IN THE ARMED FORCES, BY AGE, FAMILY STATUS, AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS OLD, FOR THE UNITED STATES:

DECEMBER 31, 1942 AND DECEMBER 31, 1943

(Number of males shown in millions)

Age, Family Status, and Number of Children under 18 Years Old	Estimated Number of Males 18 to 44 Years Old							
	December 31, 1942			December 31, 1943				
	In armed forces			In armed forces				
	Total in U.S. <sup>a</sup>	Num- ber	Percent of total	Total in U.S. <sup>b</sup>	Low estimate Num- ber	Percent of total	High estimate Num- ber	Percent of total
Males 18 to 44 years old.....	28.6	7.0	24	28.9	10.0	35	12.0	42
Head of family.....	15.8	.6	4	16.0	1.7	11	3.4	21
Not head of family.....	12.8	6.4	50	12.9	8.3	64	8.6	67
Males 18 to 37 years old.....	22.0	6.6	30	22.2	9.6	43	11.6	52
Head of family.....	10.6	.5	5	10.7	1.6	15	3.3	31
Married.....	10.2	.4	4	10.3	1.4	14	3.1	30
No children under 18..	3.1	.3	10	3.1	1.1	35	2.0	65
1 child under 18.....	3.1	.1	3	3.2	.3	9	1.0	31
2 or more under 18....	4.0	—	—	4.0	—	—	.1	3
Other marital status....	.4	.1	25	.4	.2	50	.2	50
Not head of family.....	11.4	6.1	54	11.5	8.0	70	8.3	72
Married.....	1.6	.6	38	1.7	1.0	59	1.1	65
Other marital status....	9.8	5.5	56	9.8	7.0	71	7.2	73
18 and 19 years old....	2.4	.8	33	2.4	1.9	79	2.0	83
20 to 37 years old....	7.4	4.7	64	7.4	5.1	69	5.2	70
Males 38 to 44 years old....	6.6	.4	6	6.7	.4	6	.4	6
Head of family.....	5.2	.1	2	5.3	.1	2	.1	2
Not head of family.....	1.4	.3	21	1.4	.3	21	.3	21

<sup>a</sup> Assumes an increase of 2.5 percent since April 1, 1940. Figures adjusted for unusually large number of marriages since beginning of 1940.

<sup>b</sup> Assumes an increase of 3.5 percent since April 1, 1940. Figures adjusted for unusually large number of marriages since beginning of 1940.

In building up the force of 7 million men who were in the services at the end of 1942, nearly two-thirds of the unmarried men 20 to 37 years old who were not family heads must have been drafted. In addition, perhaps a third of those 18 and 19 years old volunteered or were enlisted. The remainder probably included nearly a tenth of the married men under 38 years old (most of them married since 1939).

The addition of the next 3 million men may be accomplished principally by taking

heads with children.

Thus, the raising of a military force of 12 million men would be likely to result in the separation of 4 million married couples, or one-third of all those in which the husband is under 38 years old. These 4 million men would probably include one out of six men in this age range with children. Furthermore, over four-fifths of the men 18 and 19 years old and approximately two-thirds of the unmarried men 20 to 37 years old might be under arms.

# THE RELATION BETWEEN COURTSHIP BEHAVIOR AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS PARENTS AMONG COLLEGE MEN\*

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Psychoanalytic hypotheses provide research leads for the investigation of differences in courtship behavior among college men. The evidence of this research points to the greater importance of the mother-son relationship than of the father-son relationship. Whether the psychoanalytic or sociological interpretation of this relationship is to be preferred must await development of data on female subjects.

**T**he problem. Stated simply, the problem of this paper is: how do engaged and married persons differ with respect to certain personality factors from the unmarried, non-engaged group in the same population?

The hypothesis of the psychoanalysts, crudely and approximately, is that an "excessively strong" attachment of offspring to parent inhibits the achievement by the offspring of what we might call "normal" courtship behavior. A very interesting description of this relationship is given by Flügel:

"... we have seen that in the earliest stages of development the most important psychic reactions of the child ... are those connected with the parents.<sup>1</sup>

"Thus a fixation ... of the love impulses on the parent of the opposite sex may betray itself, on the positive side, in a relatively sublimated and asexual manner only—as in a more than usual degree of friendly affection, esteem or veneration for, or in an abnormal degree of dependence on, the parent in question; combined perhaps with an unusually strong desire for the presence of the loved parent, and a feeling of contentment with life in the parent's home that leads to a relative want of interest in persons and things outside it, and a liability to home-sickness if compelled to be away from

home or parent. The sexual nature of the (unconscious) source of this attitude reveals itself however unmistakably in the negative aspects of the conflict to which it gives rise. Thus a parent fixation of this kind may make itself felt negatively in an inability to direct love freely and fully upon any other person of the same sex as the loved parent. The normal process of falling in love in adolescence or early maturity may fail to take place; the persons concerned are content to live quietly at home with their parents; if sexual relations are attempted, psychic impotence or frigidity—relative or absolute—may result; marriage will frequently be avoided, or will be entered into from motives other than those of real affection—sometimes from the very need to escape from an unconscious incestuous desire.<sup>2</sup>

"In a number of cases the repression of an incestuous affection for a parent may manifest itself not merely in relative indifference to the attraction of others of the same sex as that of the loved parent, but more violently, in active dislike of persons of that sex. This condition is usually associated with a direction of affection upon persons of the individual's own sex in such quality and in such degree as is normally found only where persons of the opposite sex are concerned. Indeed it has been found that this process constitutes an important factor in the history of a large number of cases of homosexuality. In these cases the repression of the original love of the parent of the opposite sex has led, first, to an extension of the love taboo to all persons of that sex, and then, as a further step—the way to all heterosexual affection be-

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<sup>1</sup> J. C. Flügel, *The Psycho-Analytic Study of the Family*, London: Hogarth Press, 1929, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

ing now barred—to the displacement of sexual desire into the homosexual direction.<sup>3</sup>

"On *a priori* grounds we might expect to find that in other cases of homosexuality the direction of affection is determined in a more direct manner, *viz.* by the fixation of an original infantile attachment to the parent of the *same* sex as that of the child. This might seem especially liable to occur in the case of women, who for one reason or another have never completed the step from a predominance of father love. . . . The existence of such a type of homosexuality has indeed been demonstrated by Ferenczi (though here, as in most cases of "types" in psychology, it is probable that the types themselves are only extreme forms between which there exist an indefinite number of intermediate characters, the majority of individuals partaking to some extent of the nature of both types).<sup>4</sup>

"In a number of cases hatred may be felt, not—as usually happens—towards the parent of the same sex as that of the child, but towards the parent of the *opposite* sex. This abnormality may arise in some cases from a general tendency to homosexuality on the part of the child, in which case he is apt to suffer from an "inverted Oedipus complex," as Ferenczi has termed it; love being felt towards the parent of the opposite sex; the emotions being of the same quality as those met with in the usual form of the complex but opposite in direction. Quite apart, however, from any tendency to sexual inversion, the hatred of the parent of the opposite sex may, in other cases, arise secondarily as a consequence of the natural tendency of this parent to display affection towards the other parent (*i.e.* from the child's point of view, to give undue attention to a sexual rival). The hatred thus secondarily aroused towards the original object of love may manifest itself openly in consciousness or may suffer various degrees of repression, in the same manner as the more usual hatred towards the parent of the same sex.<sup>5</sup>

It is evident that the foregoing observations by Flügel concern certain conscious and unconscious concomitants of the overt behavior in which we are interested, *viz.*, a tendency not to enter into "normal" re-

lationships with persons of opposite sex. From the scientific viewpoint, the strength of psychoanalysis lies in its detailed study of personality development in individual cases, while its weakness lies in its failure to register the frequency of occurrence among the parent population of the sequences of personality development and background factors found in the cases reported. Incidental to our interest in illuminating the problem of differential courtship behavior, we shall be able to make very crude tests of certain psychoanalytic hypotheses upon a reasonably large homogeneous sample of young adult males.

A necessary step in transposing Flügel's observations into researchable problems is to develop approximations of measures of courtship behavior, and of aspects of the parent-child relationship, such as love-hostility, etc.

*Degree of courtship behavior.* In this study "courtship behavior" is regarded as a general term to designate opposite-sex-pair-relationships between men of the group studied and women of their acquaintance. The term "degree of courtship behavior" is introduced to designate the partially formalized intensity of attachment by a subject for any woman. Degree is expressed in terms of the stages of love affairs as these stages are recognized (and more or less formalized) in campus societies.

The writer tried to formulate a series of degrees of courtship behavior which would divide the process into as many degrees as he thought the subjects would be able to recognize and discriminate. These formulations were placed in an order of decreasing degree, as follows:

8. Married
7. Formally engaged
6. Not formally engaged, but having definite understanding to be married
5. Having indefinite understanding to be married at some undefined time
4. Going steady (and "keeping company")<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Originally, nine steps were used, but subjects inquired what was the difference between "going steady" and "keeping company." This spontaneous evidence of ambiguity plus a peculiar break in the

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.



3. Frequent dating
2. Occasional dating
1. No dating

A group of subjects responded to this set of items in March, 1941. They were asked to check the phrase or phrases which characterized their relationships with persons of opposite sex as of the time of responding. Moreover, they were directed to make similar indications regarding their courtship activities during the last three months of the preceding year.<sup>7</sup>

Although there was no way to convert the courtship descriptions of stages into rational units, in view of the crude character of the study, it was thought feasible to regard the stages as representing equal units on a scale of "degree of courtship behavior," and to score them from 1 to 8 as shown above.

To get some conception of the reliability of the "scale" of degree of courtship behavior, four measures of this variable were drawn from the data. "Present" and "past" degrees of courtship behavior were the mean values of the one or more responses recorded respectively in the "at present" column and in the column which asked for data on the last three months of the preceding year. In addition "high" and "low" degrees of courtship behavior were defined respectively as the responses of highest and

otherwise roughly "normal" frequency distribution curve at the points of these two options led the writer to throw together responses to these two degrees, thereby treating them as one. With this ambiguity eliminated, the order of progression, from high to low, of these degrees of courtship behavior seemed thoroughly consistent with common experience.

<sup>7</sup>No effort was made at this point to ascertain the number of courtship partners to which a subject's set of checks might apply. If a man had started dating a girl in the three-month period, and if the affair had progressed through the various stages to marriage, he would presumably have checked every option in the second column. If a subject had "indefinite understandings to be married" with two or more women at the time of filling out the schedule, presumably he would have placed one check opposite number five in the first column. Data gathered on the number of women in whom a subject was interested are not reported in the present paper.

lowest value in either of the two columns. All four measures of degrees of courtship behavior correlate highly, from .74 to .89, which is not bad for coefficients of reliability uncorrected for attenuation.

*Love-hostility.* Flügel's hypotheses are that certain love, hate, and dependency attitudes accompany the tendency to avoid "normal" courtship relationships. It is evident that Flügel regards the love-hate-parent-child relationship as fundamental in determining the ultimate "heterosexual" adjustment of the child. The writer suggests that love and hostility be thought of as opposite ends of a single axis, i.e., let us conceive of an axis on which we should place toward the positive end a case which we interpret as registering love for parent, toward the negative end a case which seems to register hostility, and towards the origin a case which seems to fall into what we might call a "zone of indifference."

In attempting to measure love-hostility two types of questions can be used. First is the direct question inquiring how the subject feels toward each of his parents. It is of course conventional to "love" one's parents, and indeed a sense of guilt seems not infrequently to be present where a person is aware that he feels no strong love for a parent. This conventionality might render suspect the evidence on such direct questions when taken by themselves. Following are the direct questions used to obtain direct information on this point:<sup>8</sup>

Amount of attachment between you and your father? Extremely close ..... very much ..... considerable ..... somewhat ..... a little ..... none at all .....  
Which of your parents do you love more?  
Father ..... mother ..... undecided .....  
.....

Frequently the feelings of normal individuals towards their parents fluctuate between love and hostility. If yours do, please indicate (1) the spread of your feelings by pairs of checks on the boxed lines below at the points be-

<sup>8</sup>In the case of each question appearing here and below which refers to the father-subject relationship, a parallel question about the mother-subject relationship was used, but is not reproduced here.

tween which they fluctuate, and (2) the average quality of your feelings by a single "X" at the appropriate point. If your feelings do not seem to fluctuate, place an "X" at the appropriate point.

yourself ..... no favorite .....

How happy was your life before you were twelve years old? Very much ....., etc.

Another line of indirect inquiry is based

Feelings towards father	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
	Exceptional love				Indifference				Intense hatred

Second is the indirect question which requires the use of assumptions. In general the reasoning used to develop the indirect questions was as follows: to what questions would I be disposed to respond differently under different love-hostility conditions? One such assumption was that a subject who felt considerable love for a parent would tend to think that that parent had accepted him as a child, and conversely that he would feel he had been rejected if he now did not feel a positive emotion toward that parent. The following items show how this idea was worked out:

As a child, how often did you feel that you had been adopted? Very often ..... frequently ..... occasionally ..... rarely ..... never .....

How frequently have you felt that you were not wanted by your father? Very often ....., etc.

It was felt that in general a subject who felt considerable love for one or both of his parents would have been disposed to confide in them:

Have you generally confided in your father? About everything ..... about most things ..... only when you were in trouble or wanted something ..... did not confide at all .....

Moreover, it was thought that this type of subject would be little inclined to regard a sibling as the parent's favorite child and that he would recall his childhood as relatively happy:

During your childhood who do you think was your father's favorite? Older brother ..... younger brother ..... older sister ..... younger sister ..... am only child .....

upon the assumption that subjects feeling greater degrees of love towards parent or parents would rate them more favorably upon a set of questions where social approval was definitely on the side of one type of response, and that when rating both parents comparatively, the better loved would be more favorably rated.

A necessary implication of interpersonal conflict seems to be hostility. Even though the hostility be momentary, it would appear to color (and perhaps reflect) the subject's unconscious, if not his conscious, feelings towards his parents:

Amount of conflict between you and your father? Very much ....., etc.

It seemed reasonable, moreover, that fear of the parent would be intimately related to hostility toward that parent:

During your childhood how fearful were you of punishment by your father? Very much ....., etc.

The subjects were asked to rate their parents on the quality of being "easily hurt" because of a hunch that such hypersensitivity would provide more favorable ground for tension if not for conflict, and hence for negative feelings. Another set of questions concerned the frequency of visits by each parent, telephone calls from each, visits of the subject to his home, letters to and from each parent, and the frequency of feelings of homesickness for each parent.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> As in the case of scaling degree of courtship behavior (cf. p. 165-6) we again encounter problems of scientific rigor. Methods have been devised which enable the computation of empirical values to be assigned to responses. (See, e.g., Paul Horst,

Compare on the scale which follows the personality traits of yourself, your father, and your mother. Write F for father, M for mother, and Y for yourself.\*

	Very much so	Consid- erably	Some- what	A little	Not at all
Takes responsibility willingly					
Dominating					
Easily influenced by others					
Moody					
Jealous					
Selfish					
Sense of humor					

How attractive was your father in general appearance? Very attractive \_\_\_\_\_, etc.

Which parent was more intelligent? Father \_\_\_\_\_ mother \_\_\_\_\_ undecided \_\_\_\_\_.

Which parent was more responsible for starting arguments between your father and mother? Father \_\_\_\_\_, etc.

Which parent was more responsible for whatever unhappiness existed in your parents' marriage? Father \_\_\_\_\_, etc.

Two further observations should be made on the scoring procedure. First, it was felt that the

"Obtaining a Composite Measure from a Number of Different Measures of the Same Attribute," *Psychometrika*, I (1936), 53-60.) Such methods, however, require the computation of large numbers of intercorrelations. Again with a view to the crude and exploratory character of the study it was decided to assign arbitrary weights to the various responses. Since all the items were designed to sample the same abstracted element of personality, love-hostility, it was thought that they should all be appreciably correlated in a positive direction.

In assigning arbitrary weights it was thought that the simplest procedure and the one requiring a minimum of assumptions regarding the underlying order was that of giving arithmetically progressive scores to the various response options. For example, if we are dealing with the love-hostility variable and decide that a high score shall represent a high degree of love, then the scores assigned to a five-point scale (from hostility to love) would be 0, 1, 2, 3, and 4. By inspection of the data it was found that with certain questions the element of conventionality caused a very skewed distribution at or near one end of the scale. Such clustering tends to reduce the variation and consequently to reduce the statistical utility of the item. (Such were the distributions on the degree of attachment and degree of love questions.) On questions of this type, therefore, it was deemed advisable to employ an arbitrary "stretching factor" which would serve partially to "normalize" the distribution of responses to these items.

direct type of question was underrepresented. Therefore the weights on degree of affection and degree of love were increased. Secondly, it was felt that some of the judgments made on the items rating the relative degrees to which each parent manifested certain personality traits were perhaps less directly related to parental attachment than were the other questions. It was thought that on these questions the respondent's judgment might be more subject to revision by the apparent attitudes of others. Hence each of these items received a relatively low maximum weight.

There is not space to take up in similar detail the construction of measures of other aspects of the parent-child relationship. Some are mere statistical transformations of love-hostility, while others were evolved by the process outlined above concerning the love-hostility variable. Concerning the latter it will suffice merely to indicate the type of questions asked. The additional variables of the parent-child relationships are: intensity, fluctuations, absolute value of the difference between love-hostility-father and love-hostility-mother, dominance, and submissiveness.

*Intensity.* If we are interested in the intensity of feeling rather than its quality, we shall wish to contrast the cases falling at

\*This group of questions is taken from a schedule by E. W. Burgess.



either extreme of the love-hostility distribution with those falling near the mean. Intensity is measured by using the absolute values (i.e., without regard to sign) of the standard scores on the love-hostility variable. Thus a +3 standard score, which on the love-hostility scale would indicate intense love, would fall on the intensity scale at the same point as a love-hostility standard score of -3, indicating intense hostility.<sup>11</sup>

*Fluctuations.* The psychoanalysts have emphasized the concept of ambivalence by which they mean "that, in the unconscious, impulses of love and hate for the same person often co-exist, even when one or the other is consciously denied."<sup>12</sup> Within the framework of the present study the writer saw no way to obtain information on "unconscious" ambivalence. To see, however, if anything could be developed at the conscious level, the item on degree of love for parent<sup>13</sup> was deliberately phrased so as to elicit expressions regarding the range of the respondent's feelings concerning each of his parents. A score of 0 was given if no fluctuation was recorded. A score of 1 was given if two crosses (indicating any degree of fluctuation) were recorded. This score was increased by 1 for each of the vertical cell boundaries between the two crosses.

*Difference between love-hostility-father and love-hostility-mother.* The scoring technique was to compute merely the absolute difference (i.e., without regard to sign) between the love-hostility-father score and the love-hostility-mother score for each subject.<sup>14</sup> Obviously a score of zero would be interpreted as the absence of evidence of any

difference in feelings towards the parents, while a high score was presumed to imply evidence of appreciable differential feeling. It was thought that probably a small score would indicate a situation devoid of great hostility since it would not imply any alignment on the part of the subject with either parent against the other. Conversely, a high score, it was felt, would suggest the presence of positive feeling towards one parent and negative feelings towards the other. Consequently a situation of some hostility between the parents might be inferred.

*Parental dominance.* As part of the psychoanalytic interpretation of the tendency not to engage in "normal" courtship relations, Flügel advances the idea that a person who is thus inhibited because of a parent fixation will tend to be dependent on that parent. In this context "fixation" connotes an affection characteristic of an infantile level. Hence the dependency relationship is a logical concomitant. Now it is obviously impossible merely by asking a person how much he loves his mother to ascertain whether or not he has a "fixation" on her. If, however, he replies that he feels exceptional love towards her and simultaneously indicates marked dependency upon her, and admits that he regards her as omniscient and omnipotent, the inference is somewhat more plausible. Therefore, in an effort to get some sort of clamp on the "infantility" factor, we consider the degree of dependency. The term "dependency," however, seems to relate to two more readily observable characters. Flügel observes that it tends to occur more frequently where the parent is of strong character,<sup>15</sup> i.e., where the parent shows the tendency to dominate. The other condition, in order to make the parental dominance operative, is that of submissiveness on the part of the offspring. Accordingly we shall present two more variables: parental dominance, by which we refer to the subject's impression regarding the tendency of each of his parents to dominate him; and submissiveness, by which we mean the subject's impressions of

<sup>11</sup> It is obvious that the intensity variable is built up on the basis of the same schedule items as was the love-hostility variable reported above and that the items were scored in the same fashion.

<sup>12</sup> Ives Hendrick, *Facts and Theories of Psychoanalysis* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939), p. 33.

<sup>13</sup> See p. 166-7.

<sup>14</sup> Here the interest lies in the magnitude of the difference between the love-hostility-father and love-hostility-mother scores for each subject. No account is taken of whether it be the mother or the father who is the more loved.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 233.

the degree to which he was effectively dominated by each parent.

On the parental dominance variable a direct question inquires whether or not the subject feels that the parent has attempted to dominate his life. Again it is felt, however, that greater weight should be given to indirect rather than to direct questions. The latter are based upon the following assumptions: that the person who feels that his parent has attempted to exercise dominance will regard the training and discipline by his parents as having been more rigorous than lax; that the subject's conception of the parent's tendency to dominate in situations relating to the subject will be reflected in the extent to which he rates each parent as taking responsibility willingly, as dominating, and as being neither easygoing nor easily influenced by others.

*Submissiveness.* The direct questions on submissiveness inquired regarding (1) the extent to which the subject thought each parent has been successful in any attempt to dominate the subject's life, and (2) the extent to which the principal decisions in his life had been in accordance with the wishes of each parent. The indirect questions flowed from the assumptions that whatever disagreements might have occurred between himself and his parents in the history of the submissive subject would have been resolved by concession on his part; that an attitude of admiration and respect (cf. Flügel's "esteem or veneration") would be in some degree a necessary condition of submissiveness; that, economic considerations aside, the submissive subject would be more apt to live at home while attending college than to live away from home; and that the submissive subject would have had relatively little conflict with his parents.

*The sample.* As is implied by the foregoing, the subjects for such a study should be drawn from a population of the dating and courtship age. Consideration should be given to both sexes, but each sex should be regarded as a separate problem.<sup>16</sup> Rather

<sup>16</sup> Because of the writer's conviction of a profound culturally determined difference in the significance of courtship activities, he believes that

than attempting to obtain a representative sample of all young Americans, it was decided to select a group which would be relatively homogeneous in factors irrelevant to the problem of this study. Following are the considerations which were employed in selecting the study group.

Because it provided a way of holding education roughly constant and because the subjects were readily accessible, the group was restricted to college students in residence. In an effort to make uniform the opportunities for all subjects to participate in dating activities, the writer tried to select for inclusion only subjects attending those colleges and universities where the students' social life would ordinarily be coterminous with "campus life." This is to be contrasted with student life at urban colleges and universities where students live at home and "campus life" is at a minimum. Accordingly, an effort was made to avoid educational institutions in large cities. The largest city represented is Madison, Wisconsin (1940 population, 67,447). To avoid unnecessary cultural differences between schools, only institutions in the Middle West and one in western Pennsylvania were included. Proceeding on the assumption that fraternities were an integral part of "normal" college social life in the Middle West, the author included only institutions having chapters of national fraternities and sororities.<sup>17</sup> For obvious reasons single-sex institutions were avoided. In order to "control" such variance as might be associated with racial prejudice and racial visibility, ethnic differences, etc., all foreign-born, Negro, Oriental, and Jewish cases were removed. In order not to introduce a misleading element into the parent-child relationships, all cases were eliminated in which the subject's own mother and father were not still living together for any reason. In the interest of excluding those, who, because of unusual youth or age in terms

at the outset one should think of there being two problems; i.e., one to explain variation among males, and one to explain it among females. In other words, until the data indicate otherwise, the only way in which the matter may be viewed is as two separate problems. For that reason the writer feels justified in proceeding to present this report which is concerned only with data on male subjects.

<sup>17</sup> It was felt that colleges not having fraternity systems might be culturally divergent in one of two ways: either "progressive" and unprovincial, or exceedingly parochial and folk-like.

of college standards, might be regarded as somewhat "queer," subjects under nineteen and over twenty-five years of age were excluded. Of the approximately 800 men's schedules received, 435 remained after removals had been effected on the foregoing counts. This report is based exclusively upon these 435 cases.

degree of love of mother and degree of courtship behavior.<sup>18</sup>

With respect to intensity the table shows nothing significant again concerning a relationship between feelings for the father and degree of courtship behavior. On the maternal side the picture is somewhat more in-

TABLE 1. CORRELATIONS OF PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS WITH MEASURES OF DEGREE OF COURTSHIP BEHAVIOR

	Love-Hostility		Intensity		Fluctuations		Dominance		Submissiveness		Absolute difference between L-H-F and L-H-M
	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	
Present degree of courtship behavior.....	+0.052	-0.054	+0.020	<b>+0.218</b>	+0.106	<b>+0.134</b>	<b>+0.120</b>	+0.092	+0.075	<b>+0.246</b>	-0.071
Past degree of courtship behavior.....	-0.079	<b>-0.127</b>	-0.041	<b>+0.152</b>	+0.021	+0.041	+0.025	+0.006	-0.100	+0.018	-0.026
Lowest degree of courtship behavior.....	-0.079	<b>-0.162</b>	-0.044	<b>+0.142</b>	+0.016	+0.044	+0.019	-0.009	-0.100	+0.059	-0.060
Highest degree of courtship behavior.....	-0.067	<b>-0.151</b>	-0.043	<b>+0.142</b>	+0.074	+0.096	+0.023	+0.005	-0.080	-0.003	-0.071
Love-hostility-father.....		<b>+0.507</b>	-0.126	<b>-0.152</b>	<b>-0.205</b>	<b>-0.200</b>	<b>-0.133</b>	<b>-0.145</b>	<b>+0.414</b>	<b>+0.036</b>	<b>-0.310</b>
Love-hostility-mother.....	<b>+0.567</b>		+0.053	<b>-0.150</b>	<b>-0.211</b>	<b>-0.305</b>	-0.035	-0.080	<b>+0.285</b>	<b>+0.312</b>	<b>+0.129</b>
Intensity-father.....	<b>-0.126</b>	+0.053		<b>+0.256</b>	+0.018	-0.026	<b>+0.150</b>	+0.044	-0.061	<b>+0.037</b>	<b>+0.275</b>
Intensity-mother.....	<b>-0.152</b>	<b>-0.150</b>	<b>+0.256</b>		+0.036	+0.030	<b>-0.052</b>	-0.001	-0.112	<b>-0.261</b>	<b>+0.154</b>
Fluctuations-father.....	<b>-0.205</b>	<b>-0.211</b>	+0.018	+0.036		<b>+0.861</b>	<b>+0.114</b>	-0.030	-0.000	-0.042	<b>+0.038</b>
Fluctuations-mother.....	<b>-0.200</b>	<b>-0.305</b>	-0.026	+0.030	<b>+0.861</b>		<b>+0.028</b>	-0.007	-0.102	<b>-0.207</b>	<b>+0.018</b>
Dominance-father.....	<b>-0.133</b>	-0.035	<b>+0.150</b>	-0.052	+0.114	+0.028		<b>-0.307</b>	+0.039	-0.059	-0.011
Dominance-mother.....	<b>-0.145</b>	-0.086	+0.044	-0.001	-0.030	-0.007	<b>-0.307</b>		+0.034	+0.041	<b>+0.120</b>
Submissiveness-father.....	<b>+0.414</b>	<b>+0.285</b>	-0.061	-0.112	-0.090	-0.102	+0.039	+0.034		<b>+0.550</b>	<b>-0.159</b>
Submissiveness-mother.....	+0.036	<b>+0.312</b>	+0.037	<b>-0.261</b>	-0.042	<b>-0.207</b>	-0.059	+0.041	<b>+0.550</b>		-0.026
Absolute difference between love-hostility-father and love-hostility-mother.....	<b>-0.310</b>	<b>+0.129</b>	<b>+0.275</b>	<b>+0.154</b>	+0.038	+0.018	-0.011	<b>+0.120</b>	<b>-0.159</b>	-0.026	

Note:  $\sigma_r = 0.048$ ;  $2.5\sigma_r = 0.120$

Coefficients which are regarded as significant (i.e. where  $r \geq 0.120$ ) are in bold faced type.

*The results.* Table 1 presents the correlations. Those correlations which are not in bold faced type are less than 2.5 times their standard error and therefore to be regarded as non-significant.

Since none of the four correlations of love-hostility-father with degree of courtship behavior is significant, it appears that there is no relationship between these two variables as they are measured in this study. On the maternal side there seems to be somewhat more positive evidence. The lowest correlation (which is with present degree of courtship behavior) is just in excess of one standard error. The correlation with past degree of courtship behavior is over 2.5 times the standard error, and the other two are more than three times the standard error. Although none of these coefficients is of impressive magnitude, they are all like-signed and three of the four exceed a reasonable level of significance. Therefore the data corroborate a negative association between the

interesting. All four correlations are positive and significant, although modest in size. It appears that in general a positive relationship between degree of courtship behavior and intensity-mother is indicated.

<sup>18</sup> It will be noted that the father and mother variables on love-hostility, intensity, fluctuations, and submissiveness correlate positively and very significantly. It is suspected that these correlations have two causes:

1. Response-uniformity, by which is meant a tendency to answer similar items in a similar manner. In the love-hostility questions this response-uniformity was partially corrected by the inclusion of items requiring the subject to decide which parent exhibited a tendency or trait to a greater degree.
2. Generalized feeling towards both parents. It is suspected that where the home has been happy there is a disposition to hold both parents in favorable regard, while a home life of unhappiness would produce an aura of the opposite kind.

There is no attempt in this study to allocate proportions of the variance to each of these suspected causes.



In the case of fluctuations there is no positive finding on the father's side. Of the four measures of courtship behavior only one has a correlation with fluctuations-mother which is more than 2.5 times its standard error, and this is less than 3 times the standard error. Within the limits of the correlations shown there is an apparent tendency for subjects registering high on love-hostility (i.e., towards the love end of the love-hostility axis) to report lower degrees of fluctuation. The parental dominance variables were unproductive. Of the correlations with degree of courtship behavior, only dominance-father shows a correlation that is at all significant and that is just 2.5 times the standard error. It is evident that no hypothesis concerning a relationship between parental dominance and courtship behavior is confirmed. The presence of barely significant negative correlations between the parental dominance variables and both love-hostility variables, however, is in the direction which might be expected, assuming both love and parental dominance to be conscious. Another shred of consistency is brought into this pattern by the positive correlation between dominance-father and intensity-father.<sup>19</sup>

Submissiveness shows a surprising lack of system. It will be recalled that Flügel implied a negative correlation between submissiveness and degree of courtship behavior, and it is evident that with respect to both parents such a hypothesis fails of confirmation. But why submissiveness-mother should correlate with present degree of courtship-behavior to  $+ .25$  and not significantly on the three other measures of degree of courtship behavior is certainly not clear. Perhaps being in love at the present moment colors one's attitude toward his mother. A further bit of evidence tending to support this positive correlation is that the only other correlation of submissiveness-mother with degree which is larger than its

standard error is likewise positive in sign. It is the writer's judgment that in this form the evidence is not sufficiently convincing to certify confirmation of a positive relationship as regards the mother. When, however, age of the subject is held constant, all correlations between submissiveness-mother and degree of courtship behavior become positive and a second reaches the significance level. In the usual order the four coefficients with age held constant are:  $.37$ ,  $.08$ ,  $.12$ , and  $.07$ . From this the positive relationship appears to be somewhat corroborated as concerns the mother. It is interesting that submissiveness correlates positively with love-hostility on both the paternal and maternal sides. Regarding the correlations of submissiveness with other variables we shall have more to say later.

In the case of the difference between love-hostility-father and love-hostility-mother all correlations with degree of courtship behavior are negative but none is significant. Some other observations may be made, however. This difference variable correlates negatively with love-hostility-father and positively with love-hostility-mother, tending to show the subject's greater tendency to favor his mother over his father. This is further corroborated by the greater magnitude of the correlation with intensity-father than of that with intensity-mother. (It will be noted that each intensity variable correlates negatively with the corresponding love-hostility variable.) Moreover, those subjects who registered considerable difference in feelings towards their respective parents were in general less submissive to their fathers. (Submissiveness to father correlated comparatively highly with love for father.) A final bit of evidence in building up this pattern is the positive but barely significant correlation between difference in affection and dominance of mother.

Therefore it appears that while this variable did not yield any positive findings with respect to the degree of courtship behavior variables, it did contribute to a pattern emerging from the data. The outline of this pattern is that the role of the mother appears to be much more important in the degree of

<sup>19</sup> The negative correlation between dominance-father and dominance-mother is without theoretical significance since the direction of the correlation was necessitated by several items which asked the subject to rate his father and mother differentially.

courtship behavior of our male subjects than does the role of the father.<sup>20</sup>

Before embarking upon interpretation, however, it is important to bear in mind the level upon which this information has been developed. It must be remembered that the information was derived from a schedule, that the answers of the subjects were on the conscious level. On the other hand, it should also be recalled that an effort was made to phrase items which would lead the subject to betray feelings of which he might not be totally conscious or which he might be unwilling to reveal.

This situation is amenable to at least two interpretations. As sociologists might be disposed to view it, the interpretation might be made that the modern middle-class family organization is, for the child, functionally matriarchal. This is not to suggest that policy-determining power need be in the hands of the mother, but rather that her contacts with the children are more effective because of the greater amount of time she spends with the children, that she has to exercise most of the discipline, and to administer regularly to the needs and desires of the children.<sup>21</sup>

Psychoanalytically speaking, the considerations of mere contact between mother and children are rendered subordinate to the importance of the relation of the child to the opposite-sex parent or Oedipus situation. Thus it would be held that the importance of the mother is to be interpreted in the light of her being the parent of opposite sex.

Presumably it will be possible to ascertain which of these alternative interpretations is better suited to the data when the data of

the female subjects are developed. If these data reveal the same pattern as the data here presented, they would seem to support the sociological interpretation. If the importance of the parents should be reversed, the preferability of the psychoanalytic interpretation would be indicated.

Examining the data with respect to the maternal side, we find: (1) that there was in general a modest negative relationship between love-hostility-mother and degree of courtship behavior, (2) that there was a systematic positive correlation between intensity-mother and degree of courtship behavior, (3) that the evidence regarding the relationships between fluctuations and dominance on the one hand and degree of courtship behavior on the other revealed an absence of system, and (4) that the equivocal evidence regarding the relationship between submissiveness to mother and degree of courtship behavior tended, if anything, to reveal a positive relationship.

In an effort to see how much of the variation in degree of courtship behavior could be accounted for in terms of the mother-son relationship, a multiple correlation of mother-son relationships with present degree of courtship behavior was developed and resulted in a coefficient of .41.

The data do not justify any theory-spinning as to the way in which these mother-son relationships interact to produce a clear-cut pattern. This lack of clarity in the data is evident if we examine, for example, the intercorrelations between present degree of courtship behavior, intensity-mother, and submissiveness-mother. The correlations of the latter two with the first are positive and significant; the correlation between the latter two is significant but negative. Although this type of analysis is annoying because of its lack of definitiveness, the writer would like to note that it is methodologically more precise than the sort of analysis which presents only the relationships of independent variables to a dependent variable and leaves concealed the character of the relationships between independent variables.

One reason why it is not easy to say whether or not these data have served to

<sup>20</sup> Of the correlations of parent-child relationships (i.e., love-hostility, intensity, fluctuations, dominance, and submissiveness) with the four measures of degree of courtship behavior only one was significant on the father's side and that was barely so. On the mother's side nine out of twenty were significant, these coefficients ranging from .127 to .246.

<sup>21</sup> For a recent statement along this line see Meyer F. Nimkoff, "The Child's Preference for Father or Mother," *American Sociological Review*, VII (1942), 517-524.

corroborate the psychoanalytic theory of Flügel is that the theory itself is neither clear nor consistent. A careful reading of the quoted passages reveals the hypotheses that a person may be inhibited from attaining high degrees of courtship behavior by: (1) love for father, (2) hate for father, (3) love for mother, and (4) hate for mother. Moreover, we cannot be sure that the data of this study pertain to the kind of "love" and "hate" regarded by Flügel. Two observations can be made, however, on the basis of our evidence: (1) The evidence gives little reason to regard the nature of our male subjects' feelings towards their fathers as relevant to their degree of courtship behavior. (2) To the extent that the small correlations warrant, we may observe that the less the love for their mother and the more intense their feelings, the higher, on the average, is their degree of courtship

behavior. This may be regarded as slight but statistically significant corroboration of the third interpretation of Flügel's discussion as set forth just above.

To the writer the present study demonstrates the difficulty but also the possibility of dealing with the categories of an introspective social psychology in such fashion that observations can be quantified and subjected to statistical analysis. If time and resources should become available, an exhaustive effort might be made in social psychological research to construct tests to correspond to the categories used in introspective psychology. Such tests need not be confined to the paper and pencil, question and answer type, although that is more economical where practicable. There is no guarantee that this line of research will clear up the mysteries of personality, but to the writer it is a direction of undeniable promise.



# CONSERVATISM IN LATER MATURITY AND OLD AGE

## AN INVESTIGATION BASED ON STUDIES IN THE FIELD OF MARKET AND PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH

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Are older people more conservative than the young? A comparison of attitudes of people below and above the forties shows that more persons in the older groups are conservative. However, the numerical differences are so small that where majorities of the old reject a change so do majorities of the young. There seems to be no social conflict between old conservatives and young progressives in terms of large population groups opposing each other.

IT HAS always been assumed that Conservatism is a characteristic of later maturity and old age.<sup>1</sup>

If the assumption is correct that youth is more venturesome and that advanced age is more conservative, our population trends would indicate that we have to expect a growing conservatism in the American population. The gradual reduction of the number of young people and the corresponding increase of our population in the higher age brackets would have a far-reaching influence upon the political, economic, and social organization of the United States.<sup>2</sup>

Only recently has this assumption been indirectly questioned. Professor E. W. Burgess in a memorandum prepared for the Social Science Research Council has suggested

the advisability of a study of Conservatism in Old age, thus demoting it from the rank of an axiom to that of a possible topic of investigation. His suggestion was reported by Professor Donald Young.<sup>3</sup> The present study is the outgrowth of this suggestion. It is its purpose to test the assumption that old people are more conservative than the young.

*The Definition of Conservatism and the Working Hypothesis.* The first problem that presented itself was the question: What is meant by Conservatism? According to the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, the term Conservatism can either mean a tendency to maintain the status quo regardless of what that may be, or a particular pattern of a philosophy of life which may best be characterized by a love of authority and tradition.<sup>4</sup> According to a recent publication in the field of political science, Conservatism is not necessarily a defense of the status quo, but a defense only of "primary elements in the social structure" which are considered permanent while the concession of change is granted to "secondary problems."<sup>5</sup> Both of Roberto Michels' definitions in the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences reflect popular usage of the term Conserva-

<sup>1</sup>G. S. Hall, *Senescence*, New York and London, 1922, D. Appleton and Company, pp. 518, p. 419.

George A. Lundberg, *The Demographic and Economic Basis of Political Radicalism and Conservatism*, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 719-732, p. 729.

Roberto Michels, *Conservatism*, *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, pp. 230-233, p. 230. New York, 1931, The Macmillan Company.

Otto Pollak, *The Criminality of Old Age*, *Journal of Criminal Psychopathology*, Vol. III, October, 1941, pp. 213-235, p. 215.

<sup>3</sup>Louis I. Dublin, *Statistical and Social Implications in the Problem of Our Ageing Population*, University of Pennsylvania, Bicentennial Conference. Medical Problems of Old Age, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 1-15.

Warren S. Thompson, *Population Problems*, New York and London, 1935, The McGraw-Hill Book Co., pp. xi, 500, p. 268 and 269.

<sup>4</sup>Donald Young, *Memorandum on Suggestions for Research in the Field of Social Adjustment*, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLVI, May, 1941, pp. 873-886, p. 885.

<sup>5</sup>Roberto Michels, l.c., p. 230.

<sup>6</sup>Francis G. Wilson, *A Theory of Conservatism*, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 29-43, p. 39 and 40.

tism and are more adequate for the purpose of this study than Francis Wilson's definition, which does not yield itself so well to pragmatism. Of the two definitions in the Encyclopaedia, the first one seems to offer the best chance for an accurate classification of data because it is rather definite and does not give much leeway for divergent interpretations.

Another aspect of the definition of Conservatism for purposes of this study was the question: Under what conditions may a group of persons be called conservative? It seems obvious that only if a significant majority of its members show a tendency to prefer the old and to reject the new a group may be called conservative, but it happens frequently that in statements regarding the assumed conservatism of old age this question has been neglected. How many persons among the old do show a tendency to reject the suggestion of change? It seems necessary, therefore, to define Group Conservatism as the tendency of a significant majority of the group members to maintain the status quo and to reject its change.

A final aspect of the conceptual problem at hand is the fact that it seems scientifically significant to speak of Conservatism of a group only if there is another group which shows a different tendency of reaction to change. Investigation of Old Age Conservatism can yield findings of sociological significance only in comparison to the conservatism of other age groups. Conservatism of the old is not a significant social problem if the young under the same set of circumstances are equally conservative.

Thus, for purposes of this study Conservatism was defined as a tendency of a significant majority of the members of a group to preserve old patterns and to reject new ones in contrast to other groups in the same society.

It is the writer's task in the subsequent pages to test the hypothesis that Conservatism as defined above is more prevalent in later maturity and old age than among the young.

*Test Material.* The investigation was started with the idea that it would be more

constructive and economical to use a larger amount of available data than to set up a small field study limited to the possibilities of a one man's research. Because of the existing usage of age checks in the surveys of Market and Public Opinion Research<sup>6</sup> it was expected that studies made by the representative organizations in these two fields would yield data of significance for the problem at hand, and this expectation proved to be justified.

Certain Market and Opinion Research groups made available to the writer some of their studies in which they had used age checks in setting up their samples and had made age breakdowns in their analyses. These research organizations included the American Institute of Public Opinion in Princeton, the Curtis Publishing Company in Philadelphia, the National Opinion Research Center in Denver, and Elmo Roper's research organization in New York.<sup>7</sup> Among the questions in the surveys put at the disposal of the writer, there were several which dealt with Innovations and aimed at the attitudes of people regarding the acceptance or rejection of such changes.

Major groups of questions referred to (1) the acceptance or rejection of new products, (2) the acceptance or rejection of new forms of packaging products and informing the consumer, (3) the desirability or undesirability of changes in our political, economic, or social organization, and (4) changes in the internal or foreign policy of our government. The writer selected thirty questions dealing with the acceptance or rejection of actual or suggested innovations, as follows.

Eight questions were concerned with the acceptance or rejection of the following products: dentifrice,<sup>8</sup> prepared shampoo,

<sup>6</sup> Lyndon O. Brown, *Market Research and Analysis*, New York, 1937, The Ronald Press, pp. xiv, 487, p. 27 and 28.

George Gallup, *Polls of Public Opinion and What They Show*, Howard Crawley Memorial Lectures, 1939, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, p. 23.

<sup>7</sup> In the final selection of data only survey material from these four organizations was used.

<sup>8</sup> From a survey in a rural area.

face powder,<sup>9</sup> drip machines for coffee, tea-balls, oil furnaces, and electric stoves.

Four questions were concerned with new forms of packaging products and of informing the consumer, namely: preference for branded merchandise, preference for packaged merchandise, desirability of more information on the labels of certain merchandise, and desirability of quality grading of certain merchandise.

Thirteen questions dealt with suggestions of change in our economic, political, and social organization. Of these, eleven were related to the desirability of public ownership of gas,<sup>10</sup> electricity,<sup>11</sup> street railways, railroads,<sup>12</sup> radio and telephone; one was related to the fairness of news handling by the radio and one to the desirability of a married woman earning money in industry or business if she has a husband capable of supporting her.

Five questions were related to governmental policies and aimed at ascertaining public opinion regarding the approval or disapproval of the arming of our merchant ships in November, 1941, the desirability of rationing products under danger of shortage, the desirability of the United States joining Great Britain and the other United Nations in union after the defeat of the Axis, the desirability of changing the present system of income tax collection, and the desirability of the Roosevelt administration becoming more conservative.

*Significance Tests and Sample Sizes.* For twenty-seven of these thirty questions the sample size of the study from which they were taken was given; for three it was not available. In the twenty-seven cases the writer tested the significance of the percentage differences indicated by the data;<sup>13</sup> in the other three cases this could not be

done, but it can be assumed that the sample sizes were larger than one hundred because the questions belonged to surveys of an organization which, according to its published sampling principles, uses larger samples.<sup>14</sup> The actual sample sizes ranged from about 200 to 4,600, so that the actual base of this investigation is considerably larger than immediately apparent.<sup>15</sup>

The tests of reliability of percentage differences were made under the assumption of two critical ratios

$$\frac{x}{6} \geq 2.5^{16} \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{x}{6} \geq 3.^{17}$$

*Age Limits.* The age limits of the two groups were those utilized in the studies furnishing the data. There were only two limits: forty years of age and forty-five years of age. These two age limits show that the belief that the forties mark the beginning of sociological and industrial old age is not confined to personnel practices as we used to know them before the present emergency situation, but that it is also prevalent in the fields of consumer and public opinion research. We shall presently show that this notion is probably not justified if based on the alleged Conservatism of Old Age.

*The Tests and the Findings.* With regard to the threefold aspect of our definition of Conservatism, three basic statistical investigations were made:<sup>18</sup>

1. The first aimed at the question: Given

<sup>14</sup> American Institute of Public Opinion.

<sup>15</sup> Compare for a similar problem: Herbert C. Ludecke and Ruth A. Inglis, "A Technique for Validating Interviewing Methods in Reader Research," *Sociometry*, Vol. V, May, 1942, pp. 109-122, footnote 3 on p. 113.

<sup>16</sup> Croxton and Cowden do not suggest a particular value of the critical ratio but indicate in their examples that especially in cases with large samples they would set it lower than 3. See Frederick E. Croxton and Dudley J. Cowden, l.c., pp. 337-339.

<sup>17</sup> R. Clyde White, *Social Statistics*. New York, 1933, Harper & Brothers, pp. xxiv, 471, pp. 339-340.

<sup>18</sup> For statistical advice throughout this study I am indebted to Dr. Hugh Carter of the University of Pennsylvania.

<sup>9</sup> Same question asked from two samples.

<sup>10</sup> Same question asked from samples in three regions.

<sup>11</sup> Same question asked from samples in three regions.

<sup>12</sup> Same question asked from one local and one nationwide sample.

<sup>13</sup> Frederick E. Croxton and Dudley J. Cowden, *Applied General Statistics*, New York, 1939. Prentice Hall, Inc., pp. xviii 944, pp. 337-339.



a group of people below forty or forty-five years of age and a group of people above this age, is there a higher percentage of conservative people in the older group? For this question only the twenty-seven cases in which the available information regarding sample sizes permitted the calculation of tests of statistical significance were investigated.

At first sight it seemed that in twenty-three cases out of the twenty-seven investigated, higher percentages of conservative people were found among the older group. However, on making the test of statistical significance with a critical ratio of 2.5, the answers to only thirteen, or less than half, of the questions indicated reliably higher percentages of conservative people among the older group. On making the reliability test under an assumption of a critical ratio of 3, the answers to even fewer, namely eight out of the twenty-seven questions, or less than one third, showed a higher percentage of Conservatism among the older group.

These test results present the following picture in tabular form.

DISTRIBUTION OF QUESTIONS ANSWERS TO WHICH WERE FAVORING THE HYPOTHESIS—WITHOUT SIGNIFICANCE TEST, WITH SIGNIFICANCE TEST 2.5, AND WITH SIGNIFICANCE TEST 3

Significance Test	Total of Questions	For Hypothesis	Percentage of Cases favoring Hypothesis
..	27	23	85%
2.5	27	13	48%
3	27	8	29.6%

Though we have just found that considerable numbers of cases which show greater proportions of conservative people in the older group are statistically not significant, we must yet consider that twenty-three out of twenty-seven cases show at least numerical preponderance of Conservatism. It seemed advisable, therefore, to combine the data for an additional test. This was done in the following way. The questions which form the basis of this investigation were taken from eleven studies (exclusive of those in which the sample

sizes were not given). From these eleven studies the writer took (a) those questions the answers to which seemed most favorable for the hypothesis, and (b) those questions the answers to which seemed most unfavorable. Upon taking the individuals in the eleven studies as a single group and dividing this total group into the old and the young, the old differed from the young for the most divergent reactions by eighteen standard errors and for the least divergent reactions by 7.6 standard errors.<sup>19</sup> This result speaks for the statistical significance of the observed differences in the distribution of conservatism between the two age groups. We may assume then that the test here described supports our expectation to find more conservative people in the older age group than in the younger one.

However, this test does not answer the question whether the conservative members in either age group form majorities of the membership in each group, nor does it answer the question whether the degree to which the proportions of conservative people among the old differ from the proportions of conservative people among the young is sufficiently great to be considered sociologically and politically significant. In other words, this test shows only one aspect of the problem of Conservatism in Later Maturity and Old Age and leaves the two other aspects involved in our definition unconsidered.

2. The second investigation was concerned with this question: Do the conservative people among the older group constitute majorities? As already indicated, it seemed important to know whether the conservatives among the old were so many that the older groups as such could be called conservative in terms of our definition. This test could be made for all the thirty questions which form the test material for this study.

In order to get reliable results, the probable error for every percentage figure was calculated in those cases in which the conservative percentage was ten points above or below 50. Since the conservative proportions

<sup>19</sup> I am indebted to Dr. E. D. Burdick of the University of Pennsylvania for guidance in making this test.

in the three cases in which the sample sizes were not available ranged between 70 percent and 84 percent, it could be assumed that no possibility of error due to chance dispersion had to be considered which would affect the majority character of the percentage.

Of the thirty studies, twenty-one or more than two-thirds, showed the conservative proportion of members within the older group to be a majority and thus representative of the group. This result gives some support to the writer's hypothesis. However, the question is still open as to whether the older groups have conservative *majorities* in those cases where the younger groups have conservative *minorities*. Only if such a conflict situation exists, Conservatism in the older group may be regarded as sociologically significant.

3. The third investigation now brought the result that in all cases—with one exception—where we have conservative majorities among the old we have also significant conservative majorities among the young. Similarly in all cases where the majorities among the young favor the new, it was also favored by majorities of the old. Thus it can be said that in the material investigated no conflict between a conservatism of the old and a progressivism of the young could be found.

These results show that the present sta-

tistical and sociological investigation does not justify the notion of Conservatism in Later Maturity and Old Age as it is being used. As far as the material investigated in this study is concerned the working hypothesis could not be proved.

Now the question may still be raised whether the material used gives any indication of a difference between the attitudes of the two age groups regarding changes in those primary elements in the social structure to which Francis Wilson refers. Although the material is limited in this respect, it contains at least one such topic: the question of public ownership of utilities with its implication of state socialism. Of the eleven cases of public reaction to the suggestion of such public ownership investigated by the writer, ten cases permitted the calculation of tests of statistical significance of percentage differences. In none of these ten cases was there a statistically significant difference in favor of the working hypothesis, and in all eleven cases the conservative proportions were majorities among the old as well as among the young.

This would seem to indicate the value of further research in this regard. For if we have no basic conflict between the attitudes of the young and the old toward change, our whole expectation of growing conservatism due to the aging of our population may fall down.

# THE INFLUENCE OF SIZE OF HOME COMMUNITY ON ATTITUDES AND PERSONALITY TRAITS\*

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Do rural persons differ significantly from urban persons in their attitudes toward the family, legal institutions, and the prevailing economic system? Are their personal adjustments less or more satisfactory? Standardized scales and statistical controls are used to test the usually accepted generalizations. Rurality, as measured by size of home community, seems to be unrelated to the psychosocial traits tested. Interpretations, limitations, and suggestions for further research are given.

MUCH has been written about the attitudes and personality characteristics typical of rural people. Text-book writers have generally claimed that broad psychosocial differences exist between rural and urban people and that these differences are largely the product of the dissimilar conditioning factors in the country and city environments.<sup>1</sup> In recent years, some writers have been much less positive about the nature and even the existence of rural-urban psychosocial differences.<sup>2</sup> However, to the writers' knowledge no study has ever been published in which the question has been subjected to detailed examination by means of modern quantitative techniques for the study of personality.<sup>3</sup>

\* Prepared for the Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, December, 1942.

<sup>1</sup> For a critical summary of these writings, see T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York, 1940, pp. 126-130.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130 and Stuart A. Queen and L. F. Thomas, *The City*, New York, 1939, pp. 401-417.

<sup>3</sup> However, some rural-urban comparisons are available in the following studies: Paul E. Fay and Warren C. Middletown, "Certain Factors Related to Liberal and Conservative Attitudes of College Students: I. Fathers' Occupation; Size of Home Town," *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 11:91-105, 1940; Gardner Murphy and Rensis Likert, *Public Opinion and the Individual*, New York, 1938, pp. 70-71; and Arrie E. Robertson and Eleroy Stromberg, "A Comparison of the Personality Test Scores of Rural and Urban Women," *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 11: 411-414, 1940.

The purpose of this brief paper is to report the results of a preliminary approach to the study of the influence of community background on personality. The particular aspect of the subject dealt with is the relation between selected attitude and personality characteristics and residential background, in terms of size of home community. The specific hypothesis tested is that rural and urban reared persons (rural and urban according to the Census definitions) differ significantly in their attitudes and personality traits as measured by their scores on standardized scales. It was further hypothesized that scores on the tests would vary either inversely or directly with the size of the community in which residential experience had been gained.

*The Scale Used.* While many attitude and personality scales are in existence which might have been used in testing the hypothesis of this study, the Minnesota Scale for the Survey of Opinions seemed best suited to the purposes of the investigation.<sup>4</sup> One of the most important reasons for its choice was that it includes tests of several of the basic attitudes upon which it has long been assumed that rural and urban groups differ.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> This scale is treated in detail in E. A. Rundquist and R. F. Sletto, *Personality in the Depression*, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1936.

<sup>5</sup> A review of the literature on rural-urban psychosocial differences does not reveal any great agreement between various writers on the typical attitudes of the two groups. However, most writers agree that rural people are more conservative in their attitudes toward the family, government, the



The following tests are included in the scale: Family, a measure of attitudes toward the family especially as reflected by intimacy and discord in parent-child relationships. Law, a measure of attitudes toward the law in general and legal institutions. Economic Conservatism, a measure of degree to which the individual is favorable or unfavorable to the present economic system. Education, a measure of the estimate that the individual places on the value of education as a social institution and as a means for personal advancement. Other important psychosocial traits tested by the Minnesota Scale are: Morale, a measure of the degree to which the individual feels competent to cope with the future and achieve his desired goals. Inferiority Feelings, a measure of the degree to which the individual possesses feelings of inferiority and inadequacy in his social contacts. General Adjustment, a measure of general personal adjustment or maladjustment. Other reasons for the adoption of this battery of tests were that it is brief, concise, and comprehensive and was designed for application to college students.<sup>6</sup>

The Minnesota Scale for the Survey of Opinions consists of the seven scales mentioned above, each of which, with the exception of the general adjustment scale, is made up of 22 items. The general adjustment scale is composed of 16 items selected from the other scales. The items in various scales are scattered throughout the printed form so that the person filling out the questionnaire will have no way of identifying them. The items are all of the statement type with a five point scale of terms denoting the subject's degree of agreement. The raw score for each scale is the simple total of the scores made on the items composing the scale. The raw score is converted into a standard score by means of a table constructed for

economic system, and education than are urban people.

<sup>6</sup>The scales were constructed for college and high school students and have been administered successfully to several groups similar to the groups tested in this study. The scales were validated on 600 male and female students at the University of Minnesota. The reliability of the separate scales and of the individual items was likewise established. E. A. Rundquist and R. F. Sletto, *op. cit.*, Chs. 2 and 5.

this purpose.<sup>7</sup> The standard scores of the seven tests have slightly different ranges but in general range from 15 to 90. In all cases a standard score of 50 is the mean score for the original standardization group. Low standard scores are considered indicative of favorable attitudes or adjustments while high scores are unfavorable.

*Selection of Cases.* Since other factors than residential background are closely related to attitude and personality characteristics, it is necessary to control as many of these factors as possible if even a rough approximation to the influence of community size is to be obtained. In this study the following factors were controlled:

1. *Community background.* Only persons who had lived all of their lives on farms or in communities of the following types were included: village (under 2,500), town (2,500-10,000), cities (10,000 and up), (with the exception that a group with mixed community backgrounds was added for comparative purposes). This requirement was necessary to insure the full influence of community size on personality characteristics.

2. *Geographic environment.* To eliminate the effects of widely differing culture areas, only residents of Oklahoma were selected.

3. *Race and nationality.* Only native-born white persons were studied. This limitation was made so that racial and nationality factors would not influence the results.

4. *Sex.* The study was limited to women so that any possible sex differences in psychosocial characteristics would be controlled.

5. *Age.* Since age differences might have influenced the results, it was decided that all persons other than those in the age group 17-21 should be excluded.

6. *Education.* Only persons with equal educational advancement, as indicated by entrance into the freshman year in college, were included because of the fact that educational differences might possibly influence the test scores. Another reason for this and the limitation regarding age was that the tests to be employed in the study were designed for groups meeting these qualifications.

It was possible to control several of these factors either completely or partially by studying a group in which some of the factors were absent or equated. Thus, by select-

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 389.

ing for study the freshman women entering the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College in the fall of 1941, the sex and educational factors were completely controlled, and race, nationality, age, and geographic differences were largely eliminated. The completion of the control, however, had to be accomplished on the basis of direct information on the individual students. This was achieved in the following manner:

1. During the registration week, all women entering the College as freshmen were required to fill out a card, along with other forms used in the registration procedure, which included the following information: name, local address, home address, race, nationality, age, and the number of years of residence in communities of the four types listed earlier.

2. The cards were examined and those showing mixed residential background were discarded. This step eliminated a very large number of cases.

3. Those with unmixed residential background were then examined for age, race, nationality, and state of residence. Since there were no foreign-born girls, very few extremes in age, and few whose residence had been outside the state, not many cards were eliminated by this procedure.

After all eliminations had been made, the following numbers of schedules remained for study: farm 33, village 33, town 36, and city 35.<sup>8</sup> To make the subsequent statistical computation easier, all were reduced to the same number by chance drawing of cards from the larger groups.

By means of this sampling procedure, four groups of equal size were available for analysis. Members of these groups were similar in age, sex, race, nationality, geographic background, educational achievement, and purity of residential background, but unlike in that their residential experiences had been gained in communities which differed in degree of rurality as measured by size. To these four groups was added a fifth for purposes of comparison. This group was made up of a random sample of 68 women with mixed residential backgrounds but who

otherwise met all of the requirements for inclusion applying to the other groups.

*Analysis and Results.* Having selected the cases for analysis, the next step was to administer the tests to those chosen for study. This was done during the first week of the fall semester so that the influences of the campus community on the scores would be minimized. All schedules were carefully edited and those unusable for any reason were returned for correction so that no cases were lost.

The completed questionnaires were then sorted into the five residential groups and the raw and standard scores on each of the scales were computed for each case. The data were now ready for testing the original hypothesis, *i.e.*, that the means of the various residential groups are significantly different from each other. This was done by application of simple statistical techniques.<sup>9</sup> First, the means on the various tests and their standard errors were computed for the five residential groups.<sup>10</sup> These are shown in Table 1. The most striking fact revealed by the table is that the means for the various groups differ very little in magnitude. Actually the ranges in means for the five groups on the various scales are as follows: family, 1.1; economic, 3.5; law, 2.6; education, 3.6; morale, 1.6; inferiority feeling, 2.1; and, general adjustment, 4.8. Certainly the differences in means are not nearly as great as would be expected on the basis of the usual

<sup>8</sup> Question may of course be raised as to whether the techniques used should be applied to data obtained from cases selected as these were, since each of the four groups (farm, village, town, and city) could be considered as complete universes. However, we prefer to make the assumption of hypothetical universes of possibilities from which these several groups may be considered samples. If this assumption does not satisfy the reader, the tests of significance are still of value in that they indicate whether or not differences as great as these would likely have been found in samples drawn at random from a universe in which there were no true differences.

<sup>10</sup> The formulas for the standard error of a mean and a discussion of the meaning of tests of significance may be found in any standard statistics text. An excellent discussion of tests of this type and their application to sociological data is given in Margaret Jarman Hagood, *Statistics for Sociologists*, New York, 1941, Ch. 17.

<sup>8</sup> Most of the young women in the city group were from Tulsa (population 142,157) and Oklahoma City (population 204,424).

TABLE 1. MEAN SCORES ON THE SCALES ACCORDING TO COMMUNITY SIZE

Type of community background	Number of cases	Family		Economic		Law		Education		Morale		Inveriority feeling		General adjustment	
		Mean	S.E.	Mean	S.E.	Mean	S.E.	Mean	S.E.	Mean	S.E.	Mean	S.E.	Mean	S.E.
Farm	33	42.3	1.4	43.2	1.1	41.1	1.9	42.7	1.8	44.3	2.2	47.3	1.5	41.5	1.6
Village	33	43.4	1.2	43.1	1.0	40.7	1.1	46.3	1.4	45.5	1.6	48.3	1.7	45.5	1.3
Mixed	68	43.0	1.1	42.8	1.0	39.5	1.0	43.5	0.9	44.6	1.1	46.5	1.3	42.0	0.9
Town	33	42.6	1.1	39.7	1.0	39.4	1.3	45.2	1.1	43.9	1.2	47.1	1.6	40.7	1.2
City	33	43.1	1.5	41.9	1.2	38.5	1.5	43.7	1.6	44.9	1.7	46.2	2.0	44.2	1.8
Total rural	66	42.9	0.9	43.2	0.7	40.9	1.1	44.5	1.1	44.9	1.3	47.8	1.1	43.5	1.0
Total urban	66	42.9	0.9	40.8	0.8	39.0	1.0	44.5	1.0	44.4	1.0	46.7	1.3	42.5	1.1

writings concerning rural-urban psychosocial differences. All of the possible differences in means between the five groups on each of the seven tests and all of the standard errors of these differences were computed. Only five of the 70 critical ratios were large enough to be considered statistically significant.<sup>11</sup> Both the farm and village group scored significantly higher, therefore, less favorably, than the town group on the economic test and the farm, town, and mixed groups lower, therefore, more favorably, than the village group on the general adjustment scale. There were no significant differences between the extreme groups. In general the hypothesis of significant differences is not supported by the analysis. The corollary hypothesis advanced earlier, that the magnitude of scores on the various tests should vary inversely or directly with size of community, is disproved also, since in only one case, on the law scale, was the relationship direct; and even in this instance chance variations could have accounted for the apparent relationship. In fact on four of the seven tests the difference in scores is greater between the two rural groups, farm and village, than between the extreme rural and urban groups, farm and city.

Before abandoning the hypothesis, one further test was made. The two rural groups, farm and village, were combined as were the two urban groups, town and city, in order that the differences between the total rural

and total urban groups might be tested. The results are also shown in Table 1. It will be noted that the means of the two groups are almost identical. In only one instance is the difference in means significant. This is on the economic scale where the rural group made a significantly higher score, therefore less favorable, than the urban group. This, of course, is contrary to the usual claim that rural people are more economically conservative than urban people.

*Interpretations.* Unfortunately the available data do not offer sufficient bases for a completely adequate explanation of the somewhat unexpected results of this study. However, certain factors may have influenced the findings and therefore several explanations may be offered. In the *first* place, the scales used may not be adequate measures of the attitudes and traits tested because of the fact that they were constructed for use in another part of the country. However, they were designed for college students and have been used successfully in various areas on groups similar to those tested in this study. *Second*, the attitudes and traits tested may not be the basic ones upon which the groups differ. This is entirely possible but the tests do cover some of the general attitudes upon which it has long been claimed that rural and urban people differ. However, it must be pointed out that a study of the somewhat more specific aspects of the general attitudes and values tested in this study, i.e., attitudes toward children, marriage, etc., might reveal greater differences and perhaps rather distinct configurations. This aspect of the question might well be the subject for future research. A *third* possible reason for the failure to find significant differences may be that the selective factors operating to determine who goes to college tend to select

<sup>11</sup> In this study the .05 level of significance was set as the standard. With samples of this size the critical ratio must be 2.00 or greater. A table showing the critical ratios was included in the original manuscript. This has been omitted in the printed article to save space. Mimeographed copies of the table may be obtained from the senior author or the critical ratios may be computed from the data in Table 1 by use of the appropriate formulas.



only those with similar attitudes and personality characteristics and to leave behind the groups who differ. If this were true, studies of those who do not go to college would show greater differences. This is of course possible, but a final answer can not be given until non-college groups are studied.<sup>12</sup> A *fourth* reason for the failure to find significant differences may be that the process of urbanization has proceeded much farther in rural areas than is usually suspected and that as a result the often postulated differences may not exist even in the general rural population. This does not seem to be a completely adequate explanation, since it does not square with experience, but it is entirely possible that most rural young people have experienced urban influences to a sufficient extent to make them less typically rural in their personality traits than are their parents. A *fifth* factor which may help to explain the failure to find significant differences is that the urban groups studied may still be largely rural in their attitudes and values. It is a generally accepted fact that Oklahoma is predominantly a rural state, and it is quite possible that many of the groups making up its urban population have come recently enough from rural areas to retain their rural attitudes and personality characteristics and to pass them on to their children. *Sixth*, a valid criticism which may be leveled at the study is that it does not adequately represent the upper extremes in community size since there are no cases from cities of over 225,000. In answer to this it can only be said that the evidence is not interpreted as holding for communities of all sizes but that insofar as the samples are representative the results allow no other conclusion than a negative one concerning the relation between size of community and the psychosocial characteristics studied. Whether or not this conclusion will hold for the larger communities must be determined by future research.

<sup>12</sup> The senior author has evidence from another study which indicates that rural and urban high school students selected in a manner similar to that used in this study show no significant differences in introversion-extroversion test scores.

*Seventh*, it must be admitted that size of community is at best only a rough and inadequate measure of rurality and, therefore, it is entirely possible that greater differences would have been found had other criteria been used. However, in this preliminary study it seemed advisable to base the investigation on the commonly used and easily ascertainable size criterion. Certainly the use of other criteria will be necessary before a positive conclusion can be made regarding differences in the personalities of residents of typically rural and typically urban communities. It must be remembered, however, that in modern America the pure community types are difficult to find because of the ever increasing contacts between rural and urban groups which have been made possible by the widespread development of communication and transportation agencies. Perhaps differences would be found between pure rural and urban types, but rigid control of many factors would have to be maintained in order to isolate these types.<sup>13</sup>

Despite the above possible explanations, it must be pointed out that the results of the present study definitely indicate that there is little relation between rurality, as measured by size of community, and the attitudes and personality characteristics studied. Whether this will hold for other areas and other groups will have to be determined by additional research. However, it would seem that in future studies the emphasis might well be shifted from size to a combination of criteria of rural and urban communities. In this, the methods of constructive typology might well be used along with statistical techniques in the determination of the relation between personality characteristics and community background. Certainly it would seem that much more research should be done, using better techniques, measuring other attitudes and characteristics, and sampling other groups in the population before broad generalizations are made regarding the nature of rural-urban personality differences.

<sup>13</sup> The senior author is working on a study of rural-urban psychosocial differences in which a modification of this approach is being used.



## AN EMPIRICAL SCALE OF PRESTIGE STATUS OF OCCUPATIONS

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Average prestige status ratings for 100 representative occupations are presented in the form of a numerical scale. Government officials and professional workers received the highest ratings; small business men, salesmen, clerical workers and skilled workers were given medium ratings; and unskilled workers were given lowest positions. Illustrations are presented of the use of the ratings in the identification of occupational strata, and in correlating prestige with other characteristics of occupational classes.

THE first serious attempt to study the social status or prestige of occupations was made by Counts in 1925.<sup>1</sup> This investigation employed 45 occupations ranked by 372 subjects representing communities in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Connecticut. In the years intervening between this original work and the present time twelve other investigations have been reported. Among the first and most interesting was that conducted in Russia by Davis. A total of 93 students between the ages of 12 and 19, and 19 textile workers ranked 45 occupations by a procedure somewhat similar to that of Counts.<sup>2</sup> Considerable difference was disclosed between the Russian and American rankings; financial, business and religious vocations being placed near the top by Americans but near the bottom by Russians.

Two prestige studies were made by Anderson employing North Carolina college students, the first of which dealt with 25 occupations ranked by 609 students in 1926,<sup>3</sup> the second with 673 students participating in 1929.<sup>4</sup> Two other reports were made by Hart-

mann. In 1934 three series of Pennsylvania subjects were studied, one of which (50) ranked 12 occupations, while the other two (92 and 100) ranked 25 occupations.<sup>5</sup> In 1936 25 medical specialties were ranked by 250 Pennsylvania subjects from various kinds of communities.<sup>6</sup> One study, among the earliest, employed the social distance technique to the opinions of 831 University of Southern California students concerning 30 occupations, some of which were "anti-social" in character.<sup>7</sup> This investigation followed the suggestions of Bogardus.<sup>8</sup>

The most impressive body of data, in many respects, was that of Lehman and Witty, employing the listings of 26,878 school children aged 8.5 to 18.5 years in two Kansas cities concerning the most respected occupations. These occupations were not ranked and any occupation of a list of 200 could be named by any subject as first, second or third choice. Boys particularly emphasized 27 categories, girls 26, with little overlapping.<sup>9</sup> The second most ambitious

<sup>1</sup> Counts, G. S., "The Social Status of Occupations," *School Review*, 1925, 33:16-27.

<sup>2</sup> Davis, J., "Testing the Social Attitudes of Children in the Government Schools in Russia," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1927, 32:947-952.

<sup>3</sup> Anderson, W. A., "Occupational Attitudes and Choices of a Group of College Men, I and II," *Social Forces*, 1927-28, 6:278-283, 467-473.

<sup>4</sup> Anderson, W. A., "The Occupational Attitudes of College Men," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1934, 5:435-465.

<sup>5</sup> Hartmann, G. W., "The Prestige of Occupations," *Personnel Journal*, 1934, 13:144-152.

<sup>6</sup> Hartmann, G. W., "The Relative Social Prestige of Representative Medical Specialties," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1936, 20:659-663.

<sup>7</sup> Wilkinson, F., "Social Distance Between Occupations," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1929, 13, 234-244.

<sup>8</sup> Bogardus, E. S., "Occupational Distance," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1928, 13, 73-81.

<sup>9</sup> Lehman, H. C., and Witty, Paul A., "Further Study of the Social Status of Occupations," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1931, 5:101-112.

study, that of Hall,<sup>10</sup> was not published in full. A group of 200 adults sorted 252 small cards with occupational designations into eleven categories on the basis of prestige. Other investigations included one devoted to 35 occupations for women ranked by 704 New York subjects;<sup>11</sup> one devoted to 20 occupations studied by the method of paired comparisons by 587 Wisconsin college students;<sup>12</sup> one devoted to 25 occupations for women ranked by 150 Elmira College (New York) students;<sup>13</sup> and one of 15 occupations analyzed by a gradient technique by 100 Dartmouth college students.<sup>14</sup>

Although these studies reveal a large amount of interest in the prestige of occupations and in the measurement of that prestige; and although various important areas of the country have received some attention, the net advancement in useful knowledge has been small. The one study that combined information from even two areas of the country was that of Counts. The others did not employ very similar lists of occupations, and such a variety of techniques was employed in the work that there is no way to combine the results into a single rank order arrangement or definite scale that may be called representative of occupational prestige in the country during any part of the period. Yet there is nothing inherently impossible about developing a scale of occupational prestige formed by combining opinions from various parts of the country, as the present discussion will show.

The present study is among the most extensive reported. The number of occupation-

al evaluators participating was 345,<sup>15</sup> which has been surpassed in several other investigations of shorter occupational lists, but no other study of 100 occupations evaluated by so many subjects has been published in detail. More important, the present study establishes various points on a metric scale on which all occupations may be located,<sup>16</sup> and lays a foundation for a scale contributed to by ratings made in different parts of the country.

The numerical value for the prestige status of each occupation was obtained partly by means of a procedure, which has been used in former studies of occupational prestige and also very widely in the formation of attitude and social distance scales, as well as in other studies. The entire procedure consisted of two main parts: (1) preliminary ranking of the occupations from high to low prestige status on the basis of the order of rank at a dinner honoring a celebrity, with an average member of each occupational class being seated at a formal dinner nearer to or farther from the celebrity than the average member of another, the distinctions between occupations to be made entirely on the basis of occupational prestige; and (2) rating each occupation on a scale of 100 points, the lower limit of this scale being conceived as reserved for the occupation having the lowest prestige in the United States according to the rater's personal estimation, and the highest as being reserved for the occupation having the highest prestige, regardless of whether the extreme limits were included in the occupations of the study.<sup>17</sup> The

<sup>10</sup> The raters consisted of 45 undergraduate students from Baker University, Baldwin, Kansas, 175 undergraduates of the University of Kansas, 100 seniors from Abilene, Kansas, High School, and 25 students from Olathe, Kansas, High School. The ratings were made during the school years 1938-1939, 1939-1940 and 1940-1941.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Smith, Mapheus, "Proposals for Making a Scale of Occupational Status," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1935, 20:40-49, for a discussion of some theoretical points to consider in constructing such a scale. Also see Cattell, R. B., "The Concept of Social Status," *Journal of Psychology*, 1942, 15:293-308 for advocacy of a metric scale of social status.

<sup>12</sup> The purpose of the rating procedure and the development of a scale of fixed limits was to insure that the present study would contribute to the establishment of a complete scale consisting of all occupations that have been differentiated.

<sup>10</sup> Hall, C. W., "Social Prestige Values of a Selected Group of Occupations," *Psychological Bulletin*, 1938, 35:696.

<sup>11</sup> Munger, C., "The Social Status of Occupations for Women," *Teachers College Record*, 1932, 33:696-704.

<sup>12</sup> Coutu, W., "The Relative Prestige of Twenty Professions as Judged by Three Groups of Professional Students," *Social Forces*, 1936, 14, 522-529.

<sup>13</sup> Stevens, R. B., "The Attitudes of College Women toward Women's Vocations," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1940, 24:615-627.

<sup>14</sup> Osgood, C. E., and Stagner, R., "Analysis of a Prestige Frame of Reference by a Gradient Technique," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1941, 25:275-290.

rater was also directed to give the same rating to more than one of the occupations, if they appeared to be exactly equal. All ratings were made in terms of whole numbers.

The title and definition of each occupation employed in the study was placed on a separate slip of paper to facilitate comparison and ranking. It was suggested to the evaluator that a preliminary arrangement of the occupations be made quickly into several groups, each representing a general degree of occupational prestige, such as very high, high, slightly above average, average, slightly below average, low and very low. After a rapid preliminary sorting a refined comparison and rank order arrangement was made within each general level of prestige, the various levels were coordinated into a continuous series for the entire list, and the final ratings were made and entered on a blank provided for that purpose. The average time required by each evaluator was about one hour.

Table 1 presents the mean ratings of occupations, together with the standard error of the mean.<sup>18</sup> High government positions possess the highest prestige status, with United States Supreme Court Justice leading (99.02), followed by ambassador to foreign country (97.56), cabinet secretary (97.08), United States Senator (96.21) and governor

It is assumed that other occupations may also be dealt with in the same way and that when all have been rated an internally consistent arrangement will result, even though parts of the whole scale are made by different raters on different days. This appears to be the only way in which all occupations may be fitted by empirical methods into a single scale, since it is impossible to make rank arrangements and ratings of all of the thousands of different occupations as a part of one experiment. Even 100 occupations seems to be beyond the limits of ability and/or motivation of many people and longer lists offer apparently insurmountable obstacles to even more people. Cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, for description of projected scale based on ratings of 700 occupations on a 100 point scale.

<sup>18</sup> The standard error, or  $\sigma_{av}$ , is a measure of variation in the observed mean of a plural number of values. Its size is dependent on the standard deviation, not presented in Table 1, and on the number of values comprising the observed mean. It reveals the limits of probable variation of other means of other plural numbers of values of the same size. A total of 1,000 of each 1,000 means, each of which is based on the same number of values as the observed mean, are expected to lie within 3  $\sigma_{av}$  on either side of the observed mean.

TABLE 1. MEANS AND THEIR STANDARD ERRORS FOR PRESTIGE STATUS RATINGS OF 100 REPRESENTATIVE AMERICAN OCCUPATIONS

Rank	Order	Description	Mean	$\sigma_{av}$
1.		U. S. Supreme Court justice	99.02	.120
2.		U. S. ambassador to foreign country	97.56	.145
3.		U. S. cabinet secretary	97.08	.161
4.		U. S. senator	96.21	.145
5.		Governor of state	95.25	.170
6.		College president or chancellor, 3,000+ students	92.30	.229
7.		Banker, large city	89.41	.360
8.		Mayor of city of over 500,000 population	88.76	.423
9.		Medical doctor, city of over 500,000 population	88.19	.368
10.		State prosecuting attorney	85.36	.588
11.		Captain ocean-going merchant vessel	82.17	.777
12.		Criminal lawyer	81.32	.725
13.		Architect	79.40	.600
14.		Author, poet; has published poems	78.12	.784
15.		Actor, motion pictures, above rank of extra	77.91	.781
16.		Aviator, transcontinental airline	77.52	.687
17.		Clergyman	75.88	.877
18.		Certified public accountant	73.78	.716
19.		Postmaster, city	73.35	.753
20.		Radio entertainer, any except announcer	72.94	.853
21.		Inventor, working alone on patentable devices	72.13	.857
22.		Cashier of bank	70.47	.707
23.		Building contractor	70.46	.831
24.		Editor-owner, small town newspaper	69.56	.813
23.		Building contractor 1,000+ pupils	70.46	.831
26.		Trained nurse	68.43	.718
27.		Justice of peace	67.59	.744
28.		Professional baseball player, major league	66.92	.962
29.		Interior decorator	66.46	.979
30.		Owner and operator, department store	65.89	.803
31.		Radio operator	65.79	.795
32.		Owner and operator, any type mine	65.59	.755
33.		Retail jewelry dealer	65.04	.764
34.		Undertaker	63.90	.763
35.5		Owner of log or timber camp	63.28	.836
35.5		County sheriff	63.01	1.003
37.		Social or welfare worker	63.01	.825
38.		Supervisory position, railroad	61.81	.910
39.		Real estate agent	60.98	.891
40.		Retail dealer, five, ten, variety store	60.93	.808
41.		Mate, ocean-going vessel	59.73	.818
			59.72	1.001



Rank	Order	Description	Mean	σav.	Rank	Order	Description	Mean	σav.
42.		Manager or other official, log or timber camp	59.66	.853	89.		Longshoreman, unskilled heavy work	15.71	.576
43.		Private secretary to executive	59.50	.728	90.		Unskilled worker, automobile factory	15.58	.477
44.		Manager or official, any type of mine	59.04	.927	91.		Unskilled worker, construction	15.24	.495
45.		Foreman, supervisor, factory	57.75	.794	92.		Unskilled worker, woolen mill	14.66	.457
46.		Electrician, own business	57.42	.793	93.		Newsboy	13.59	.566
47.		Hotel keeper or manager, city under 25,000	56.89	.814	94.		Huckster or peddler	9.30	.446
48.		Policeman, city of over 15,000	54.91	.896	95.		Scissors or other tool grinder, house to house	9.26	.427
49.		Watchmaker, factory	53.96	.822	96.		Unskilled worker, odd jobs	7.70	.350
50.		Owner-operator general farm	53.64	.921	97.		Scrub-woman	7.27	.331
51.		Owner-operator dry-cleaning establishment	52.86	.838	98.		Garbage collector	6.80	.336
52.		Linotyper	52.06	.793	99.		Unskilled migratory worker	3.76	.227
53.		Locomotive engineer	51.45	.872	100.		Professional prostitute	1.62	.130
54.		Oil well driller	51.32	.906					
55.		Conductor, steam railroad	49.90	.838					
55.5		Railway mail clerk	49.90	.798					
57.		Bookkeeper	47.48	.735					
58.		Typist	45.60	.686					
59.		Ticket agent, railroad	44.81	.701					
60.		Rural mail carrier	44.69	.761					
61.		Practical nurse	43.78	.821					
62.		Carpenter, general business for himself	41.93	.740					
63.		Structural iron worker	41.77	.854					
64.		Pawnbroker	39.43	.984					
65.		Salesman in store	39.41	.664					
66.		Dressmaker, own business conducted at home	38.45	.752					
67.		Telephone operator	37.61	.727					
68.		Telegraph or telephone lineman	37.17	.770					
69.		Painter, house and other non-factory	34.47	.656					
70.		Barber	33.95	.701					
71.		Cook, hotel or metropolitan restaurant	31.70	.801					
72.		Farm tenant, operates for share of profits	30.51	.796					
73.		Baggage man, railroad	30.04	.798					
74.		Semi-skilled worker, automobile factory	28.15	.613					
75.		Chauffeur, private family	27.36	.644					
76.		Semi-skilled worker, building trades	27.21	.627					
77.		Semi-skilled worker, clay, glass, pottery	27.11	.605					
78.		Semi-skilled worker, cotton mill	26.19	.636					
79.		Auto filling station attendant	25.24	.612					
80.		Waiter, hotel or metropolitan restaurant	24.03	.580					
81.		Taxi-cab driver	23.70	.721					
82.		Manual worker, stone quarry	20.81	.685					
83.		Miner, coal mine	20.75	.682					
84.		Porter on pullman or dining car	20.57	.620					
85.		Woodchopper or sawyer at lumber camp	18.89	.553					
86.		Farm laborer	18.44	.653					
87.		Unskilled laborer, railroad	17.59	.631					
88.		Janitor, public building	17.07	.549					

of state (95.25), in order. College president or chancellor also ranks very high (92.30). At the other extreme are professional prostitute (1.62), unskilled migratory worker (3.76), garbage collector (6.80), scrub-woman (7.27), unskilled worker at odd jobs (7.70) and scissors and tool grinder (9.26). In central positions are located such occupations as factory foreman (57.75), electrician in own business (57.42), hotel manager (56.89), city policeman (54.91), watchmaker in factory (53.96), owner and operator of general farm (53.64), proprietor of cleaning establishment (52.86), linotyper (52.06), locomotive engineer (51.45), oil well driller (51.32) and railway mail clerk and conductor (49.90).

In general the standard errors of the extreme occupations are considerably smaller than those in the middle range. Thus the six occupations with highest prestige had standard errors from .120 to .170, and the corresponding limits for the six occupations having lowest prestige were .092 and .446. Since the smallness of the standard error in this study represents the degree of agreement in ratings, it appears that the extreme occupations stand out more clearly in the minds of raters than do the others. There are a few exceptional occupations which a large preponderance of raters placed near the middle of the 100 point scale, and which therefore have medium status as well as moderate standard errors. These include proprietor of cleaning establishment, hotel manager, bookkeeper, private secretary and typist. Occupations rated very differently by different

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ratars, and consequently possessing very large standard errors, include owner of log or timber camp, official any type of mine, oil well driller, mate of ocean-going vessel, pawn broker, justice of the peace, barber and social and welfare worker.

It will be noted that various occupations possess ratings so nearly the same that they would be equal, if the scores were rounded to the nearest whole number.<sup>19</sup> Each instance of this sort may be thought of as an example of equal status among occupations. But if the idea of equivalence is used still

another having equivalent status) in reference to such distributions. The grouping of occupations into generally equivalent classes represents a telescoping process which can also be carried so far as to result in seven, five, or some other small number of status levels.

Not only is it possible to change the original scale, which may be thought of as a centigrade scale of status, to a decigrade scale, as in Figure 1, but it is also possible to combine the separate occupational classes into the conventional classification of pro-

FIGURE 1. ARRANGEMENT OF 100 OCCUPATIONS INTO TEN OCCUPATIONAL STRATA\*

Scale Points											
		1		2		3		4		5	
91-100											
81-90				7	8	9	10	11	12		
71-80			13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
61-70	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
51-60			40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
41-50					55.5	55.5	57	58	59	60	61
31-40					64	65	66	67	68	69	70
21-30				73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
11-20					85	86	87	88	89	90	91
1-10						94	95	96	97	98	99
										100	

\* The arabic numerals refer to the occupational designations of Table 1. For the purpose of this figure all occupations within the same range of mean ratings are considered to possess equivalent occupational status. In allocating an occupation to a scale point level .51 (as in occupation 72, mean 30.51) was considered equivalent to the next highest whole number, while a mean rating of .50 would place an occupation in the next lowest whole number category.

more generally, fewer strata will be distinguished and more occupations will be considered to have equivalent prestige. Figure 1 reveals such a use of the data for ten occupational levels, each one embracing ten points on the scale. Such simplification makes it possible to identify with clarity such concepts as groups (categories) horizontally distributed and others vertically distributed. It is also easy to understand the meaning of vertical mobility (movement from one level to another) and horizontal mobility<sup>20</sup> (change from one occupation to

professional, proprietorial, clerical, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Or the items reported on here may be used to approximate the list of occupations employed in various census reports. As an example of how this can be done, and also in order to illustrate the use of the prestige ratings in comparison with other social data, Table 2 contains ratings from Table 1 used alone or in combinations to provide an occupational status classification which is closely comparable with a classification recently employed to indicate relative chances occupational categories have for inclusion in *Who's Who in America*. Inspection of this table reveals that the correlation of occupational prestige

<sup>19</sup> Unexpectedly, 2 occupations (owner of log or timber camp, and sheriff) had the same average to two decimal places, 63.01, as did 2 others (railway mail clerk, and railroad conductor) at a lower position, 49.90.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Sorokin, P. A., *Social Mobility*, New York, 1927, pp. 133 ff.; Bogardus, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-75; Smith, Mapheus, "Occupational Mobility of Notable Persons," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1939,

23:503-513; and Smith, Mapheus and Brockway, M. L., "Mobility of American Congressmen," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1940, 24:517-522, for discussion of these concepts and some applications.

TABLE 2. COMPARATIVE PRESTIGE STATUS AND PER CAPITA CONTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS TO *Who's Who in America*, 1938-39

Occupation	Mean Occupational Rating in Prestige*	Rank in Prestige	Rank in Per Capita Contribution to <i>Who's Who in America</i> **
<i>Professional</i>			
Actor (motion pic.)	77.91	5	5
Architect	79.40	4	6
Author (poet)	78.12	8	2
Editor	69.56		
Clergyman	75.88	7	3
College president or chancellor	92.30	1	1
Lawyer (criminal)	81.32	3	4
Physician (city)	88.19	2	7
Social and welfare worker	61.81	19	12
Teacher	68.43	12	14
Trained nurse	67.59	13	24
<i>Semiprofessional</i>			
Baseball player (professional)	66.46	14	16
Interior decorator	65.89	15	17
Other			
(undertaker)	63.28	9	15
(aviator)	77.52		
(radio entertainer)	72.94		
<i>Proprietors, Managers and Officials</i>			
Postmaster, city	73.35	6	8
Mayor, city	88.76		
Justice of peace	66.92		
Proprietor, manager and official, by industry			
Mining official	59.04	18	10
Mining operator	65.04		
Construction	70.46	11	18
Manufacturer			
(owner, timber camp)	63.01	20	13
(official, timber camp)	59.66		
Trade			
Retail, dep't. store	65.79	17	19
Retail variety store	59.73		
Retail jewelry	63.90		
Finance			
Banker, large city	89.41	16	4
Bank cashier	70.47		
Pawn broker	39.43		
Real estate agent	60.93		

\* The items in this column refer to scale point values of occupations most nearly equivalent to occupational classes employed in the United States Census of 1940. In forming the combined ratings, for example, for authors and editors, a simple unweighted average of the scale points for author (poet) and editor was obtained. This average is not as accurate as one based on the numerical size of the component occupations in the census category of authors, editors and reporters would be, but will serve for an illustration; and the relatively small variations would probably not affect the size of a rank order correlation materially. It may be argued that averages of different scale values cannot be combined in this way because a difference between values on one part of the scale, for example, 70 and 75, is not equivalent to an equal numerical difference on another part of the scale, for example, 30 and 35. This contention is not more readily demonstrated, however, than a similar argument based on a temperature scale. Cf. Lundberg, G. A., *Foundations of Sociology*, New York, 1939, pp. 58-68, for further discussion of the principles of measurement.

\*\* Based on data accepted for publication in *Scientific Monthly*, 1943, the nearest approximation to the stub designation of the mean occupational prestige ratings of Table 2 of the present paper being used.

TABLE 2. *Continued*

Occupation	Mean Occupational Rating Prestige*	Rank in Prestige	Rank in Per Capita Contribution to Who's Who in America**
Personal service			
Dry cleaning	52.86	23	20
Hotel keeper	56.89		
Miscellaneous industries and services			
Master of sea vessel	82.17	10	11
Mate of sea vessel	59.72		
<i>Clerical, Sales and Kindred Workers</i>			
Bookkeeper	47.48	22	22
Accountant	73.78		
Ticket agent	44.81		
Secretary, private	59.50	24	23
Typist	45.60		
<i>Other clerical</i>			
Radio operator	65.59	26	26
Mail carrier	44.69		
Huckster	9.30		
Salesman in store	39.41		
Newsboy	13.59		
Baggage man	30.04		
Railway mail clerk	49.90		
Telephone operator	37.61		
<i>Farmer and Farm Manager</i>			
Farm owner and operator general farm	53.64	25	21
Farm tenant	30.51		
<i>Protective Service</i>			
Sheriff	63.01	21	25
Policeman	54.91		

status with chances for eminence is fairly high. Only in finance and nursing were there large divergences in the rank orders in status and chances for eminence, although important differences exist for mining officials, manufacturing officials, construction officials, and social workers. In spite of differences, however, the rank-order correlation coefficient of  $.79 \pm .054$  is far above the average for general sociological data.

The process of combination of smaller occupational classes into larger ones can be carried out in a similar way for any classification of occupations of a mutually exclusive character at both the more specific and more general levels. In this way the prestige status of any recognized larger and more general category of occupations may be determined by combining the ratings of its component parts into an

average. For example, the average status in occupational prestige of a family of workers may readily be computed by combining the average values of their occupations. The same thing could be done for a community, an entire business concern, an entire government bureau, a region, or a nation. In the larger units where a number of separate classes of varying sizes are involved, the average obviously should be weighted, if the results are to be dependable.

It will be obvious to the student of occupational classification that the larger occupational classes are not well represented in the present scale. A complete occupational prestige scale will require far more work than that already done. One of the chief inadequacies of present knowledge is revealed when we consider such problems as how to compare the index of occupational status of

one complex assortment of people with another. However, if investigation of the sort outlined here could be extended sufficiently, such problems could be given numerical solutions that would have the validity of quantitative answers to problems in any other recognized field of science. It would also be possible to relate amount of vertical and horizontal movement to the passage of time, to amount of education, to indices of change in the society of which the occupational hierarchy is a part and to other social phenomena.

One of the first steps that needs to be taken to obtain a more perfect scale of prestige status is the establishment of the means and standard errors for the present scale for other sections of the country.<sup>21</sup> Co-operative research by sociologists and social psychologists in different regions is indicated. Another need is to extend the occupational list

<sup>21</sup> That this is necessary is indicated by such studies as that of Horne, E. P., "Ranking of Attitude Objects by Different Populations," *Bulletin of Purdue University*, 1936, 37, 283-290, which disclosed regional differences in the rank order given attitude objects.

to embrace a larger number of occupations or to all occupational classes. The present world crisis makes the completion of such studies difficult, but not impossible. One way in which work may go forward, in spite of conditions likely to affect ratings, would be to compare ratings for typical subjects during social upheavals with those made during earlier periods or, where that is impossible, after a restoration of more balanced conditions. From such studies corrective indexes may be derived that will make it possible to adjust the size of occupational ratings to the general degree of disturbance of social conditions during which the scale is used as a tool for scientific analysis.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> In perfecting a scale of status the procedure of selecting occupations for a final listing so that only those exhibiting statistically reliable differences should be employed, as was mentioned in Hall, *op. cit.*, and as has also been done in the formation of attitude and social distance scales. The data presented in Table 1 could be employed for this purpose to construct one or more scales with equal appearing intervals between the items. These intervals could be selected to be either large or small, but in any case, whether the resulting scale is detailed or simplified, the items should be selected so as to avoid any degree of overlapping.

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## ETHNIC FACTORS IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF URBAN CONNECTICUT

SAMUEL KOENIG

Brooklyn College

Sample study of major ethnic groups in Connecticut cities shows that, although actually a minority in a predominantly "foreign" state, British-Americans control the economic life, especially industry and commerce. "Old" immigrant groups, particularly Irish, share in economic leadership, while "new" immigrants, on the whole, show little participation in it.

CONNECTICUT emerged as an industrial state in the seventies of the past century, when its population was still largely native-born and of British-American stock. The foundation of the industries for which the state became prominent was therefore laid by individuals belonging to this stock. Similarly, the large commercial establishments were founded by persons of British-American ancestry. Despite the fact, however, that the British-Americans<sup>1</sup> have ceased to be a numerically dominant group in the state, constituting only about 14 per cent of the population, they continue to provide the leadership in industry and commerce.

Thus, of a total of 269 noted individuals in industry and commerce listed in compilations<sup>2</sup> of prominent Connecticut persons in the period of 1830-1900, 245 were found to be of British-American stock, most of whom traced their ancestry to Colonial times. An examination of the ethnic origin of the 25 inventors listed in the same compilations and for the same period again shows that 21 of them were of British-American extraction.

<sup>1</sup> This study is based upon an analysis of surnames (see note 3, below). Since typically American names could not be differentiated from English ones, and hence some first and second generation English immigrants, as well as English Canadians, must have been included among them, it was deemed preferable to use the term "British-Americans" instead of "Old Americans" or "Yankees."

<sup>2</sup> Those compilations are: E. R. Stevenson (editor), *Connecticut History Makers*, 4 vols., (Waterbury, American-Republican, 1929); N. G. Osborn (editor), *Men of Mark in Connecticut*, 5 vols. (Hartford, W. R. Goodspeed, 1906); *Encyclopedia of Biography; Connecticut*, 5 vols. (American Historical Society, New York, 1917).

This situation is not appreciably altered at present. A list compiled of 110 of the most prominent industrialists in the period of 1900-1930 shows that the great majority of them, 92 to be exact, are of British-American antecedents, only one being foreign-born. As far as inventors are concerned, only 12 seemed to be prominent enough to warrant inclusion in the compilations, but of these, again 9 were of British-American ancestry.

Again, of the 107 leading establishments, i.e., factories employing over 500 workers, 39 of the largest, namely those listed in Poore's *Industrial Directory*, were singled out for an examination of the ethnic origin of their officers and directors. It was found that of the 468 officers and directors of these 39 corporations, no less than 404 were British-Americans.

Similarly, banking and finance are largely in the hands of British-Americans. About 70 per cent of the officers of the New Haven banks are of this group. Should only the most important banks be considered, the percentage would be close to 85. Very few members of other groups are included in the directorates of the important banking and financial houses. The situation from a state-wide point of view is even more striking. An examination of the list of presidents of all the banks in Connecticut reveals that nearly 90 per cent are of British extraction, most of whom are of Old American stock.

In insurance, too, the important officers and directors were found to be predominantly British-Americans. Among the insurance salesmen there are, to be sure, a considerable number of members of other groups, but the largest single group are again the British-Americans, as is indicated by the fact that they constitute about one third of the 600 agents in the State. The Jews, with 100 agents, are next in numerical importance, the Italians and Irish, with 86 and 70, respectively, follow them.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF THE MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE VARIOUS BRANCHES OF CONNECTICUT COMMERCE AND TRADE  
(Based on a 3 percent sample of each ethnic group, taken from the 1937 City Directories of Hartford, New Haven, Bridgeport, Waterbury, New Britain, and Stamford).

Nationality Group	P.C. of Total Population in the Six Cities*	Sample	SUBDIVISIONS OF COMMERCE													TRADE		
			COMMERCE			Insurance Companies & Agencies	Banks and Brokerages	Advertis- ing Agencies	Loan Companies, Collection Agencies, & Credit Bureaus	Real Estate Com- panies								
			Total Number	P.C. based on Ethnic Group Sample	P.C. based on All in Commerce						Percentages Based Upon:							
						All in Insurance, etc.	Given Ethnic Group in Commerce	All in Banks, etc.	Given Ethnic Group in Commerce	All in Advertising, etc.	Given Ethnic Group in Commerce	All in Loan Companies, etc.	Given Ethnic Group in Commerce	All in Real Estate, etc.	Given Ethnic Group in Commerce			
Italians	23.6	4,818	72	1.5	10.1	8.8	62.4	0.6	13.9	5.0	1.4	13.8	5.6	25.0	16.7	893	28.2	18.5
Irish	19.4	3,883	209	5.4	29.2	31.3	77.0	25.0	12.5	45.0	4.3	17.2	2.4	16.7	3.8	461	14.6	11.9
British-Americans	14.6	2,951	179	6.1	25.0	23.5	67.5	33.7	19.6	40.0	4.5	17.2	2.8	20.7	5.6	341	10.8	11.6
Jews	10.9	2,237	66	2.5	9.2	7.2	56.1	4.8	7.6	5.0	1.5	31.0	13.6	29.2	21.2	804	28.2	40.0
Poles	6.9	1,446	30	2.7	5.5	6.2	82.1	4.8	12.8	—	—	6.9	5.1	—	—	160	5.1	11.1
Germans	6.4	1,301	50	4.1	7.8	8.4	76.7	7.7	14.3	5.0	1.8	6.9	3.6	4.2	3.6	153	4.8	11.3
French-Canadians	4.7	935	24	2.6	3.4	4.1	87.5	2.0	12.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	95	3.0	10.2
Swedes	3.8	822	51	6.2	7.1	7.4	74.4	9.6	19.6	—	—	3.5	2.0	4.0	—	68	2.1	8.3
Lithuanians	3.1	646	15	2.3	2.1	2.5	86.7	1.9	13.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	78	2.5	12.1
Ukrainians	0.9	220	4	1.8	0.6	—	75.0	—	—	—	—	3.5	25.0	—	—	22	0.7	10.0
All Groups	94.3	19,319	715	3.7	100.0	100.0	71.9	100.0	14.6	100.0	2.8	100.0	4.1	100.0	6.7	3,165	100.0	16.0

\* The total used in arriving at the percentages in this column was not the 1930 census figure of the total population of the six cities (687,817) but the sum-total of the estimated sizes of all the ethnic groups in 1938 in the six cities (685,706). The ten ethnic groups covered in this table constitute 94.3 per cent of this total; the remaining 5.7 per cent consists of minor groups which were not covered completely in the sampling and were therefore omitted from the tabulation.

As shown in Table 1, the groups outstanding for the percentage of individuals engaged in commerce and its various branches are the Irish, British-Americans, and Swedes.<sup>3</sup> The Germans are only other group

<sup>3</sup> Unless stated otherwise, the figures given below are based on a 3 percent sample of ten major ethnic groups in the six largest cities of the state. The groups included are the Italians, Irish, British-Americans, Jews, Poles, Germans, French-Canadians, Swedes, Lithuanians, and Ukrainians. The cities in which the sample was taken are: Hartford, New Haven, Bridgeport, Waterbury, New Britain, and Stamford. The Magyars and Slovaks, two other numerically important groups, had to be excluded, as in four out of the six cities covered they were represented in too small numbers to warrant analysis. Since the United States Census for 1930 in enumerating the ethnic groups does not go beyond the second generation immigrants, it was necessary to resort to an estimate. By taking into consideration such factors as the size of each group at the several crucial immigration periods and their natural increase and checking the results with estimates obtained from local group leaders, a fairly accurate estimate, it is believed, has been arrived at.

The method of obtaining the sample was as

who show a comparatively high percentage of individuals in the field.

The Irish and British-Americans together supply well over one half of all those engaged in insurance, banks, and brokerages, and 85 per cent of all in advertising. While their representation in loan companies and real estate, is also considerable, it is the Jews who provide the largest percentage of individuals engaged in these fields. In real estate the Italians take a

follows. After determining the size of each group and what constitutes 3 percent thereof, a list of surnames typical of each group in each city was selected by consulting the city directories of the six above-mentioned cities. The selection was, to begin with, on the basis of what are commonly known as unmistakable Italian, Jewish, Polish, and other group names. Only names like Cohen for Jews, O'Brien for Irish, Schultz for Germans, etc., have been selected. The next task was to determine which of the surnames chosen occurred most frequently in the city directories. Out of these enough names were selected to make up 3 percent of the total size of each group in each of the cities. Thus, in every instance only a few names had to be used; this made it possible to select names in which there is hardly a doubt that they are representative of the particular group.

second place only to the Jews, one fourth of the realtors being Italians. On the other hand, in department stores, hotels, and laundries it is the Irish who have the highest representation.

As evident from the same table, the Jews and Italians lead all other groups in trade, sharing this leadership equally in absolute numbers. Together they supply over one half of all engaged in this field. Since, however, the Jews number only little more than one third as much as the Italian population in the state, their percentage is much higher. Each of the two groups tends to specialize in certain branches however. Thus, while both groups predominate on an equal basis in food, drugs, and allied goods, as well as in the automotive fields, they differ greatly in their concentration in other branches. Constituting over 64 per cent of the individuals of all groups occupied in the clothing and dry goods business, the Jews overwhelmingly dominate the field, while the Italians play a very minor role in it.

The Irish and Italians, as figures in Table 2 show, make up the bulk of government employees in the state, the British-Americans, although represented to a much greater extent than the rest of the groups, taking a very subordinate position. There are, however, fields within government service in which various other groups lead.

Thus, in the Army, Navy, and Coast Guard the Irish have a much lower representation than either the British-Americans or the Poles. On the other hand, in the Post Office, police and fire departments, the Irish hold all but a monopoly. About 59 per cent of the total in each of these departments are Irish. The British-Americans, to be sure, are here next in importance to the Irish, but, with about a 15 per cent representation, they do not even approach the Irish.

To get a more precise picture of the relative part the different ethnic groups take in the various city, state, and Federal government departments an analysis has been made of the ethnic composition of their personnel. The analysis of city employees is based on data obtained from the various departments of the city of New Haven, and that of regional, state, and Federal government employees upon information received from officials of those departments.

According to this analysis, almost half of the New Haven City employees, including

public school teachers, are of Irish extraction. British-Americans constitute about one-fourth, and the rest are made up principally of members of the German, Italian, and Jewish groups. Those of Irish descent predominate, moreover, in every major city government department. The largest representation is to be found in the police where over 70 percent are Irish. It is noteworthy, however, that in the state police the British-Americans outnumber considerably the Irish. The British-Americans are also represented better than the Irish in the state highway department.

As shown in Table 3, the groups represented in the professions well above their proportion in the population are the Irish, British-Americans, and Jews. Indeed, the three groups supply close to three quarters of all the professional people in the six cities studied. The highest percentage is to be found among the Irish, who constitute over 35 percent of all professionals. Slightly surpassing their proportion in the population are the Germans and Swedes.

The Irish, British-Americans, and Jews lead all other groups in the medical and allied professions. The Irish, however, with close to 40 per cent, absolutely outnumber two to one both the British-Americans and Jews. The only other group having a representation slightly above its proportion in the population in these professions are the Swedes.

In education it is, again, the Irish who constitute the largest percentage, as over 43 per cent of all engaged in this field are Irish. The British-Americans provide the next highest, and the Jews the third largest percentage, but the representation of the latter is only slightly higher than their proportion in the population. On the other hand, the British-Americans lead all other groups among the architects, engineers, draftsmen, etc., constituting close to one third of these. Other groups having a high percentage in engineering, architecture, etc., are the Irish, Germans, and Swedes.

The group providing the largest percentage of the white-collar class of workers are again the Irish, who constitute over one-fourth of all workers in this class. The Jews supply the next largest number, being followed by the British-Americans and Italians. If subdivided into sales and clerical workers,

TABLE 2. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS AMONG THE FEDERAL, STATE, AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES IN CONNECTICUT

(Based on a 3 percent sample of each group, taken from the 1937 City Directories of Hartford, New Haven, Bridgeport, Waterbury, New Britain, and Stamford)

Group	P.C. of Total Population in Six Cities	All Government Employees		Government Employees, Except WPA, CCC, NYA		Army, Navy, Marines, Coastguard		Postoffice			Police and Fire Departments			WPA-CCC NYA			Other State, Federal, or Municipal Employees	
		Total Num- ber	P.C. based on All Govern- ment Em- ployees	Num- ber	P.C. based on All Govt. Em- ployees	Num- ber	P.C. based on All in Army, etc.	P.C. based on All in P.O.	P.C. based on Total in Govt. Emp. of Given Ethnic Group	Num- ber	P.C. based on All FD and FD	P.C. based on Total in Govt. Emp. of Given Ethnic Group	Num- ber	P.C. based in WPA, etc.	P.C. based on Total in Govt. Emp. of Given Ethnic Group	Num- ber	P.C. based on All Others	
Italians	23.6	316	20.1	110	16.4	13	27.1	8.0	2.8	12	6.3	206	49.4	65.2	76	23.6	24.1	
Irish	19.4	418	38.4	327	48.7	5	10.4	58.9	15.8	112	59.3	91	21.8	29.8	144	44.7	34.4	
British-Americans	14.6	149	12.9	97	14.5	10	20.8	13.4	10.7	25	13.2	43	10.3	30.7	47	14.6	33.6	
Jews	10.9	47	4.3	33	4.9	1	2.0	4.5	10.6	17	8.9	14	3.4	20.8	10	3.1	21.3	
Poles	6.9	54	4.9	30	4.5	10	20.8	2.7	5.6	6	3.2	24	5.8	44.4	11	3.4	20.4	
Germans	6.4	46	4.3	33	4.0	2	4.2	6	5.3	10	5.3	23	3.1	28.2	15	4.7	32.6	
French-Canadians	4.8	20	1.8	12	1.8	—	—	2	1.8	2	1.1	8	1.9	40.0	8	2.5	40.0	
Swedes	3.8	14	1.3	13	1.9	2	4.2	3	2.7	2	1.1	14	0.2	7.1	6	1.9	42.9	
Lithuanians	3.1	23	2.1	11	1.6	2	4.2	3	2.7	2	1.1	13	1.2	52.4	4	1.2	17.4	
Ukrainians	0.9	10	0.9	5	0.8	3	6.3	1	0.9	—	—	5	1.2	1.9	1	0.3	10.0	
All Groups	94.3	1,088	100.0	671	100.0	48	100.0	100.0	10.3	189	100.0	417	100.0	38.3	322	100.0	29.6	



TABLE 3. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE PROFESSIONS IN CONNECTICUT  
(Based on a 3 percent sample of each group, taken from the 1937 City Directories of Hartford, New Haven, Bridgeport, Waterbury, New Britain, and Stamford)

Group	P.C. of Total Population in Six Cities	All Professionals		Doctors, Dentists, Nurses, Internes, Etc.		Educational		Architects, Engineers, Draftsmen, Etc.		Others**	
		Number	P.C. based on All in Professions	Number	P.C. based on Total in Professions of Given Ethnic Group	Number	P.C. based on Total in Professions of Given Ethnic Group	Number	P.C. based on Total in Professions of Given Ethnic Group	Number	P.C. based on Total in Professions of Given Ethnic Group
Italians	23.6	112	9.6	40	11.1	24	6.6	14	8.5	34	12.1
Irish	19.4	413	35.4	142	39.4	158	43.7	42	25.0	71	25.2
British-Americans	14.6	275	23.5	57	15.8	97	26.8	51	31.1	70	24.8
Jews	10.9	173	14.8	54	15.0	41	11.3	9	5.5	69	24.5
Poles	6.9	22	1.9	13	3.6	4	1.1	1	0.6	4	1.4
Germans	6.4	85	7.3	20	5.5	24	6.6	27	16.5	14	5.0
French-Canadians	4.7	26	2.2	14	3.9	2	0.6	2	1.2	8	2.8
Swedes	3.8	48	4.1	10	4.4	9	2.5	13	8.0	10	3.5
Lithuanians	3.1	12	1.0	3	0.8	3	0.8	4	2.4	2	0.7
Ukrainians*	0.9	2	0.2	1	0.3	—	—	1	0.6	—	—
All Groups	94.3	1,168	100.0	360	100.0	362	100.0	164	100.0	282	100.0

\* Figures on Ukrainians were not obtained for Waterbury.

\*\* Others include Clergymen, Lawyers, Accountants, Social Workers, Editors, and Artists.

the Jews are found to predominate in the first category and the Irish in the second. The Irish, however, surpass all groups, except the Jews, among the salesmen. The Italians, who have the next largest percentage among salesmen and clerical workers, are, nevertheless, proportionately greatly under-represented in both of these occupational categories.

Thus, contrary to what might be expected from the predominance of other stocks in the state, control of both industry and commerce is definitely in the hands of British-Americans. While British-Americans largely control and own the huge factories and powerful commercial houses, other groups, although occupying an important place numerically in these fields, are mostly limited to the control or ownership of relatively minor establishments. Among these groups the "old" immigrants, particularly the Irish, Swedes, Germans, and French-Canadians, are prominent. It is only in firms employing less than ten workers, that the Jews and Italians play a leading role. The British-Americans, moreover, appear to be also proportionately over-represented in commerce, being closely followed by the Irish.

Trade is shown to be largely in the hands of Jews and Italians, the Irish being im-

portant only in a few branches. There can be hardly any doubt as to the prominence of the Irish in most of the fields of local government and the public school system. In the professions, on the other hand, the Irish share their numerical superiority with the British-Americans and Jews. But here the British-Americans, Irish, and Germans almost monopolize engineering and architecture.

British-Americans, it is quite evident from the preceding analysis, tend to be in a position of leadership in the most consequential fields of the state's economic life. Their most serious rivals are the "old" immigrant groups, particularly the Irish. It is quite likely that as the "new" immigrant groups become more acculturated, more "settled," this leadership will be more contested by them. The Jews take a somewhat intermediate position, being well represented in some of the commercial fields as well as in the professions. It is doubtful, however, whether they can be said to exercise control in any of them except in trade, which, as shown, they share on an equal basis with the Italians. But, after all, it is large scale industry and finance which ultimately control the rest of our economic life, and these are primarily in the hands of British-Americans.

## CRIMINALITY IN PHILADELPHIA

1790-1810 Compared with 1937

A. H. HOBBS

*University of Pennsylvania*

"I lived in Philadelphia (1796-1800) with every disposition to find fault with everything that was amiss. I never heard of any person, except in one instance, being tried for his life or her life; I never heard of a murder, a highway robbery, or of a house being broken open. I never heard of an execution of death on any person, except of three men, hanged on the banks of the Delaware, for piracy and murder."<sup>1</sup>

THE writer quoted above goes on to tell how the idyllic law-abiding community of Philadelphia was in contrast with the widely prevalent criminality in England, where: As to poultry, no man . . . has the smallest expectation of being able ever to taste what he raises, unless he carefully locks it up in the night, and has dogs to guard the approaches to the hen-roost.

Such comparisons strike a familiar chord. How often we hear anthropologists tell us of simple-living societies where crime is almost unknown, while criminologists often emphasize the cultural conflicts of modern life which produce high crime rates to a degree unknown in our pioneering past. Is it true that England contrasted so markedly with Philadelphia during the period of which the writer tells? Are the crime rates of today disproportionally high in comparison with those of the past? Is it true that the stress and strain of modern society, the social disorganization, the lack of stability, the breakdown in the primary controls and similar factors have produced phenomenally high crime-rates? Cultural lags and conflicts, economic maladjustments, and other aspects of the cultural environment can only be said to be a cause of crime if we find disproportional increases in crime rates when and where

these appear in the social environment, for example in the contrast between a modern metropolis and an environment which does not possess these phenomena to the degree usually attributed to modern life in the United States.

Criminal law is a reflection of the mores of society, but laws writ large in statutes may be seldom enforced, while others which occupy little space in the statutes may involve many persons in the society. To a degree, the prosecutions of criminal offenses, the pleas of counsel, and the sentencing practices of the time may be a reflection of the society which produces them. If it be true that the prosecutor and jury are prejudiced; if some crimes are punished more severely than comparable violations; if some groups receive justice and others less than justice—these things are more likely than not indices of the values held by the society of the time rather than factors which distort the reflection.

"Driving while intoxicated," "Other violations of motor-vehicle laws," and "auto-theft" prosecutions constitute an index of the importance of the automobile in modern life. The volume of prosecutions involving the carrying of deadly weapons indicates that (in times of peace) we live in a society so protected from violent harm that the mere possession of a deadly weapon is an implication of evil intent. It may not have been "justice" for the courts to award such a high percentage of acquittals and suspended sentences to persons accused of violating the statutes enforcing the "Noble Experiment," but these were as much an indication of the sentiment of the people at the time as the volume of such cases was a measure of the extent of the violation of the law.

Social reforms are reflected in criminal actions against brokers who violate the regu-

<sup>1</sup> William Reitzel, ed. *The Progress of a Plough-Boy to a Seat in Parliament*. As exemplified in the History of the Life of William Cobbett. Lond., Faber and Faber, 1933, 87.

lations for the investment of securities and against relief clients who secure their allotment from the government under false pretences. Even scientific teachings of the time appear in the courts where we find a man accused of burning his father to death; suffocating his mother with chloroform; and feeding arsenic to his grandmother pleading for

were then compared with the records of the criminal courts of the county and city of Philadelphia for the year 1937, when 14,911 cases appeared before the courts. Types of cases or procedures which are unique in respect to either the earlier or the later period (Auto Theft, Driving while Intoxicated, Challenge, Blasphemy, etc.) were ex-

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF DEFENDANTS BEFORE PHILADELPHIA COURTS CHARGED WITH OFFENSES AGAINST PERSONS, OFFENSES AGAINST PROPERTY, AND OFFENSES AGAINST PUBLIC ORDER. DISPOSITION OF CASES BY PERCENTAGES: 1937 COMPARED WITH 1791-1810

	Disposed of Without Conviction					Guilty of Offense Charged		Guilty of Lesser Offense		Sentenced				
	TOTAL DEFENDANTS	Defendants Dismissed by Prosecution	Defendants Dismissed by Court	Defendants Acquitted by Jury	Other No Penalty Disposition	Plea Guilty	Jury Verdict Guilty	Plea Guilty	Jury Verdict Guilty	Total Percent Sentenced	Prison	Fine	Probation or Suspended Sentence	Death Penalty
Offenses against person														
1937	4239	14	—	26	—	16	44	—	*	60	39	2	19	*
1791-1810	2458	10	1	12	13	31	32	—	1	64	3	61	—	—
Offenses against property														
1937	3616	8	—	21	—	19	52	—	—	71	41	3	27	—
1791-1810	2694	4	1	18	1	21	54	*	—	76	76	*	—	—
Offenses against public order														
1937	2548	2	—	36	—	15	47	—	—	62	29	9	24	—
1791-1810	909	17	1	11	4	32	33	—	2	67	18	49	—	—

\* Less than 1 percent.

leniency on the grounds of being possessed of an Oedipus Complex. Variable though it may be, an index of some aspects of the social conditions of an era may be found in the type of cases and in the differential treatment of cases which appear before the criminal courts.

The writer compiled the records of 10,543 cases which appeared before the Court of Quarter Sessions of the county, and the Mayor's Court of the City of Philadelphia from 1791-1810 inclusive. These records

cluded in order to give a series of roughly comparable types of cases for the two periods. In the 1791-1810 group the cases which involved a finding of *Ignoramus* and those which were listed as *Pending* were not included because there were no comparable classifications in the 1937 data. These two series were then grouped under three general categories according to the procedure recommended by Professor Sam B. Warner in the November 1930 issue of the *Massachusetts Law Quarterly*:



## OFFENSES AGAINST THE PERSON

1937	1791-1810
Murder	Murder
Manslaughter	Manslaughter
Rape	Rape
Robbery	Assault with intent to ravish
Aggravated Assault	Robbery
Other Assault	Highway Robbery
	Assault with intent to rob
	Assault with intent to kill
	Mayhem
	Poisoning
	Assault and Battery

## OFFENSES AGAINST PROPERTY

Burglary	Breaking and Entering
Breaking and Entering	Burglary
Larceny (except auto theft)	Larceny
Stolen Property	Fraud
Embezzlement and Fraud	Cheat
	Extortion
	Receiving Stolen Goods

## OFFENSES AGAINST PUBLIC ORDER

Forgery and Counterfeiting	Uttering False Coin
Prostitution and Commercialized Vice	Counterfeiting Check
Other Sex Offenses	Conspiring to Forgery
Violation of Liquor Laws	Forgery
Gambling	Disorderly Bawdy House (Keeping)
	Forcible Abduction
	Adultery
	Fornication
	Fornication and Bastardy
	Bastardy
	Bigamy
	Bestiality
	Incest
	Tippling House (Keeping)
	Gaming House (Keeping)
	Instituting a Lottery
	Promoting a Horse Race

After eliminating the incomparable items from the two series there remained 10,403 cases of the 14,911 originally in the 1937 report, and 6,061 of the 10,543 cases which appeared before the Philadelphia courts between 1791 and 1810. Table 1 shows the number of cases in each category and the disposition of these cases by percentages.

This comparison of actual cases which appeared before the courts in 1791-1810 and in 1937 lends no support to hypotheses that

the total amount of criminality has increased with the increased complexity of modern living; that cultural conflicts of the modern large city produce crime, or that the high contemporary crime rates in the United States are a product of our economically competitive society. Philadelphia County had a population of 54,000 in 1790 when 357 cases appeared before its criminal courts of record. In 1937, with a population of approximately 2,000,000 there were 14,911 such cases. In 1810, there were 810 cases and a population of 111,210. Proportionally the volume of criminal cases was only slightly less one hundred and fifty years ago. Comparing the volume of cases in relation to population one finds that the 1790 rate would have produced 13,209 cases at the present time while the 1810 rate would have produced 14,580. There is no indication of any appreciable proportional increase in recorded crime.

In 1937, sixty percent of those who were charged with *Offenses Against the Person* were sentenced, and thirty-nine percent of those so-charged were committed to a penal institution. In the 1791-1810 period, while 64 percent were sentenced, only three percent were committed. While it is true that the use of prisons as punishment for crime is an historically recent phenomenon, yet we find a higher percentage of penal commitments in the early period for *Offenses Against Property*. The practices of the courts in these two periods tend to challenge the allegation that we are more mercenary or "property-minded" now than we were during the early days of our existence as a nation. Seventy-six percent of those appearing before the courts charged with *Offenses Against Property* in 1791-1810 were sentenced, and all except a few of those sentenced were sent to a penal institution. In 1937, only 71 percent were sentenced, and only 41 percent were sent to prison. The defendants charged with committing a crime against property had only one chance in four of escaping a prison sentence in 1791-1810, but in 1937 there was a 60-40 chance of escaping imprisonment when so-charged. The percentage sentenced for *Offenses Against*

the *Public Order* was greater in the early period, but only 18 percent of the persons so-charged were sent to a penal institution, while 29 percent were sent in 1937.

Other pronounced differences are found in narrower categories. Of the 347 cases charged with *Prostitution and Commercialized Vice* in 1937, forty-eight percent were convicted and 19 percent received prison sentences. In 1791-1810, there were only 113 of these cases, but 81 percent were found guilty and 57 percent were sent to prison. This situation is reversed in relation to other sex offenses. Sixty-nine percent of those so-charged were sentenced in 1937, and 41 percent sent to a penal institution, compared with 51 percent sentenced and 13 percent sent to penal institutions in 1791-1810. Violation of liquor laws resulted in 31 percent of the accused being sent to a penal institution in 1937 while only one percent were sent in 1791-1810.

Historical comparisons such as the above must of necessity be somewhat superficial, and affirmative assertions resting on such shaky foundations may well be subject to severe questioning. Even so we can puncture some of the broad generalizations about the causes of crime lying in our particular form of society and changes which are alleged to have taken place in our social outlook. The social perspective as reflected in the criminal courts has changed, but the change apparently has not been in the direction of greater severity in the handling of offenses against property. Crimes against property were proportionally *greater* 150 years ago than they are now, and were treated *more severely* by the courts. In 1791-1810 a greater percentage of those so-charged were pronounced guilty and sent to a penal institution than in 1937. A reflection of more refined ways of life may be indicated in the findings that *Offenses Against the Person*, consisting principally of assault and battery in both periods, resulted in a prison sentence much more frequently in the later period. The influence of a more complex social structure and the necessity of greater protection of more closely interrelated persons is found in the greater severity in the

treatment of these offenders and of those charged with offending against the public order. It is apparently in these categories, rather than in that of *Offenses Against Property* that the greater complexity of modern living produces more criminals for the courts.

There is evidence that various aspects of criminality, and the nature of the theories concerning the causes of crime have not changed as much as might be supposed during the last century and a half. In early days there were those who believed that the laws were not administered in a just fashion and the following quotation gives expression to just such a belief.

... the rich can elude justice by giving great bail, and feeing lawyers high, who by that and other methods, protract the affair till the action dies away, by one means or another; there is nothing incomprehensible in all this—If the small fry get in the least entrammelled in the meshes of the law, they are generally fastened in the net, and often times punished wrongfully.<sup>2</sup>

To protect the poor and oppressed, modern reformers were antedated by:

As we have an Attorney-General who acts in behalf of the state, it is proposed that the legislature appoint another person (with a fixed salary) as Advocate General for all persons arraigned on criminal prosecutions; whose business should be to appear in behalf of all prisoners indicted by the States Attorney.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly, D. L. Dix, a century ago, suggested education for the potentially criminal and model behavior by persons in authority as a cure for crime:

... but all men may be taught, who are not deficient in mental capacity—that is, who are not idiots, or furiously mad—in the observance of those laws and rules which give moral vigor and safety to society. Let the conscience be

<sup>2</sup> Lyon, P., *The Narrative of Patrick Lyon, Who Suffered Three Months Severe Imprisonment in Philadelphia Gaol; on Merely a Vague Suspicion, of being Concerned in the Robbery of the Bank of Pennsylvania: with his Remarks Thereon*, Philadelphia, 1799.

<sup>3</sup> Honestus, *Observations on the Pernicious Practice of Law*, Boston, 1814.

enlightened; let accountability and responsibility be demonstrated; and, added to this, let the intelligent, the prosperous, and the elevated in rank, be elevated by justice, uprightness, kindness, and strong integrity—and the humble, the lowly, *the weak*, of whom there are so many, and who are so sorely tried and tempted, will have powerful aid in maintaining their virtue, in resisting vice, and in forbearing crime.<sup>4</sup>

The Irish in that day were blamed for crime as other "foreigners" are now:

In this latter state (Pennsylvania) out of ten convicts, seven at least are in general strangers, and in particular natives of Ireland, who bring with them from their own country little besides poverty, ignorance, and habits of indolence, the seeds of every kind of vice; . . .<sup>5</sup>

Perhaps equally significant is the fact that Negroes then, as now, contributed more than their proportional share to the prison population. In 1818 the proportion of Negroes committed to the total number of Negroes in the population was one in every 16, while

<sup>4</sup> Dix, D. L., *Remarks on Prisons and Prison Discipline in the United States*, Boston, 1845.

<sup>5</sup> M. de Saint-Mery, *On the Prisons of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1796.

for whites the ratio was one in 60. Recidivism was far from unknown, and the reports of the penal commissioners show 162 recidivists of a total of 451 convicts in 1817.

Many are the changes which have taken place in the physical structure of Philadelphia in the past 150 years. The ways of life, too, have changed markedly in many respects, yet generalizations about the extent and the direction of these changes must be made with great care. If one's orientation is that of economic determinism, one may tend to infer that the amount of crime involving property is greater and the treatment of such offenders harsher in our property-laden society than in other places or other times. Yet this is an *a priori* deduction which may lack substantiation in fact. While the inadequacies of such a loose comparison as the one made in this article are as obvious to the writer as they are to the reader, and should not serve as the basis for positive assertions, yet the comparison of the criminal records of these two periods may produce a healthy measure of skepticism regarding armchair comparisons of past with present criminality.

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## SOME NOTES ON THE 1942 MEMBERSHIP OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ROBERT C. MYERS

Stanford University

A first direct attempt in typologizing *Homo sociologensis americanus*. His distribution, outward characteristics and background are briefly examined. The field is herewith opened for further research and comparison with other species of social scientists.

THE base for this brief study is the membership list of the American Sociological Society which was published in the April and June, 1942, issues of the *American Sociological Review* (Vol. VII, 2 & 3). After eliminating memberships at foreign addresses and those issued *specifically* in the name of some institution, an examination of the list shows a total of 926 members (both joint and single) in the United States.

Geographically, the distribution of these members presents an interesting picture. Considering the District of Columbia as a forty-ninth state, it was found that 25 states house less than 10 percent of the members, while over 90 percent are concentrated in 24 states. Three states, Idaho, Montana, and Nevada, claim no memberships whatever, and three more, Delaware, New Mexico, and Wyoming, claim only one each.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, New York is found to have 169 members, Illinois, 93, Pennsylvania, 70, the District of Columbia, 59, Ohio, 53, and Massachusetts, 37—a total in these six states of 481 members, or 52 percent of the entire membership.

Of more significance is the comparison of the number of members in each state with the 1940 population of that state. The results of such a comparison are shown in the accompanying map. This might well serve as a guide for missionizing sociologists to those states which are apparently continu-

ing to seek their own salvation with the benefit of little or no sound sociological advice. On this chart the state of Washington gleams brightly as a Far-West outpost of sociological civilization after a tedious expanse of desert,<sup>2</sup> while some other states do not show up quite as well as might be expected.

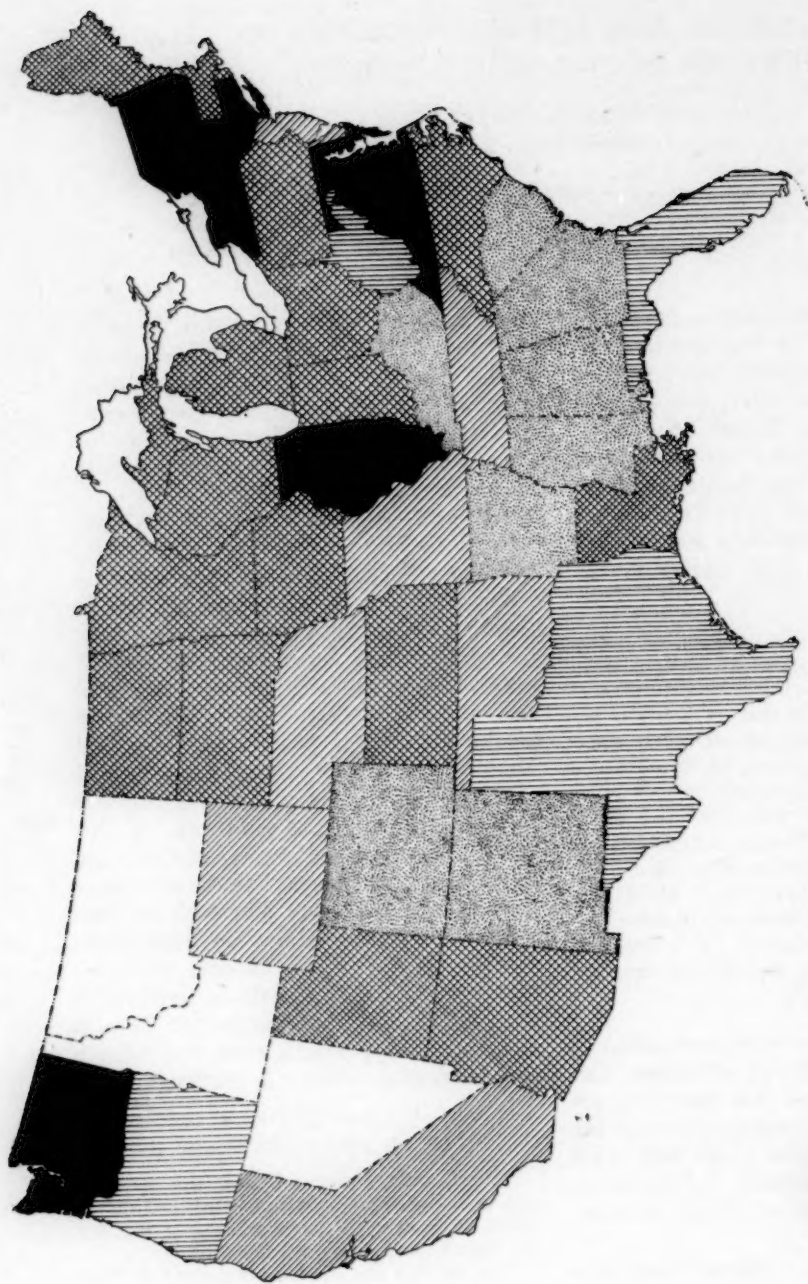
The membership list, as such, quickly reveals *where* the members are, but reveals little concerning *what* or *who* they are. Accordingly, it was decided to mail out a short questionnaire to determine certain background factors of American sociologists. It was realized at once that, although the members of the American Sociological Society provide the largest pool of sociologists in America, it would be a gross error to conclude that each and every member was *per se* a sociologist. Thus, in order to distinguish between sociologist-members and non-sociologist-members, the questionnaire was so constructed as to allow each recipient to determine for himself whether or not he was a sociologist.<sup>3</sup> Early in October the questionnaire was mailed to half the members of the Society, every other name of the 926 mentioned above being chosen. Following is the information which was requested:

(1) Age; (2) Sex; (3) State of residence (of U.S.A.); (4) Do you consider yourself primarily

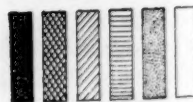
<sup>1</sup>When Jesse Steiner first saw this chart, he exclaimed somewhat facetiously that he was rejoiced to see at last a map which made Washington the equal of New York and Illinois.

<sup>2</sup>As of 1942 the words "sociology" and "sociologist" remain ill-defined despite many masterful but generally circumlocutory attempts to the contrary. Hence, it was left to each recipient himself, on the basis of his own definition or conscience, whether or not he was a sociologist.

<sup>3</sup>An additional 86 U.S. members appear in a supplemental list on pp. 697-8 of the October, 1942, issue of the *ASR* (Vol. VII, 5) who are not included in this study. None of these, however, is shown to be at an address within the six states just mentioned.



More than one member per 100,000 population.  
 One member for between 100,000 and 200,000 population.  
 One member for between 200,000 and 300,000 population.  
 One member for between 300,000 and 400,000 population.  
 Less than one member per 400,000 population.  
 "Unexplored Territory"—no members.



MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION BY STATES OF 926 MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY IN 1942  
 (1940 population of each State divided by number of members resident in that State)

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a sociologist? (5) If not, what profession would best characterize you? (6) Country of birth, (a) of yourself, (b) of father, (c) of mother; (7) Principal occupation followed by father; (8) Are you now teaching? (9) Teaching three years ago? (10) Member of Phi Beta Kappa? (11) What other occupation (other than your present one) have you followed? (12) List degrees earned; (13) Listed in *Who's Who in America*?

By the end of October 310 replies had been received, and although further returns have continued to drift in, it was decided to commence tabulations, using the 310 as a complete sample. The sample slightly exceeds a third of the universe. It should be clearly understood, however, that although the conclusions which follow refer to the membership as a whole, they are based solely upon the 310 replies.

*Sociologist?* 25.2 percent of the members do not consider themselves primarily sociologists.<sup>4</sup> Hereafter, therefore, the word *member* will refer to members of the Society, and the word *sociologist* will be confined to that 75 percent of the membership who consider themselves primarily sociologists.

*Age.* The youngest member is 20 and the oldest is 83. The distribution is given in an addendum on p. 206.

	Mean Age	Median Age
Members	45.43 <sup>a</sup>	45.22
Sociologists	44.16	43.65
Male Sociologists	44.59	43.56

*Sex.* 86.5 percent of the members are males, and 13.5 percent females. Of the sociologists, 90.1 percent are males, and 9.9 percent females.

*Nativity.* 14.4 percent of the members are of foreign birth, 31.9 percent have foreign

born fathers, and 27.7 percent have foreign born mothers.

*Fathers' occupation.* The principal occupations of the respondents' fathers may be presented as follows:

Occupational Group	Members (percentage)	Sociologists (percentage)
Professional	27.7	26.7
Governmental, teaching, & ed. admin.	8.7	9.9
Clergy	6.1	6.0
Medical and Dental	4.5	3.5
Engineering	4.2	3.9
Law	2.9	2.1
Arts	1.3	1.3
Proprietary (store owners, business mgrs., etc.)	18.4	17.7
Clerical and Sales	13.5	9.9
Skilled labor	9.0	10.8
Semi-skilled labor	4.1	4.7
Unskilled labor	1.6	1.7
Farming	25.7	28.5
Total	100.0	100.0

*Shift from teaching.* A discernible shift from teaching as an occupation is shown by the respondents. Based on the replies to the two questions: "Are you now teaching?" and, "Teaching three years ago?" the following percentage table can be set up:

Group	Percent Teaching	
	Now	3 yrs. ago
Sociologists	73.7	81.0
Non-Sociologists	41.0	46.2
All Members	65.5	72.3

*"Brilliance."* Based upon the replies to the questionnaire, it is estimated that 26.1 percent of the members of the American Sociological Society have been elected to the Phi Beta Kappa liberal arts honorary society. There is, however, a noticeable disparity here between the group who consider themselves primarily sociologists and those who do not. While 30.8 percent of the non-sociologists claim Phi Beta Kappa membership, only 24.6 percent of the sociologists claim such membership.

*Eminence.* 21.9 percent of the respondents claim listing in *Who's Who in America*. Nevertheless, a comparison of the complete membership list of the society with Volume 21 (1940-41) of this publication shows but 18.2 percent of the members to be so listed.

<sup>4</sup> Instead, they would prefer to be known, in order of preference, as follows: social case worker or researcher in social work, social economist, population statistician, social psychologist, lawyer, business executive, Christian educator or clergyman, educator, librarian, public administrator, clinical psychologist or medical psychiatrist, criminologist, home economist, personnel administrator, social anthropologist, political scientist, dean, publisher, social historian, physician, physicist, student, philosopher, nurse, and housewife.

<sup>a</sup> The standard error of this mean is 0.69.

The difference may be accounted for either by the fact that respondents claimed listing in earlier years that has since been dropped, or by sample error. A tabulation of the academic degrees earned by the respondents indicates that 67.4 percent of the members have earned the Ph.D. degree or its equivalent.

*Versatility.* 34.8 percent of the respondents claimed no other principal occupation than their present one. For the most part, those who did list previous principal occupations show such a scattering of interests and skills that complete presentation here is unwarranted. But, of the 105 teaching sociologists who listed previous principal occupations, it is interesting to note the following backgrounds:

PREVIOUS PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONAL FIELDS OF 105  
TEACHING SOCIOLOGISTS

Occupation	Number	Percent
Social Research and Social Work	30	28.6
Clergy and Religious Work	21	20.0
Educational Administration and Non-Sociological Teaching	16	15.2
Farming	7	6.7
Journalism	6	5.7
Other	25	23.8
Total	105	100.0

*Summary.* Completed questionnaires were returned from 43 states, including the District of Columbia. A comparison of their numerical distribution with that of the complete membership of the Society shows the returns to have been geographically proportionate. It is to be hoped that the results presented here may help to give each member a clearer conception of his fellows. Furthermore, it is possible that the data gathered in this study may be useful in a more ambitious research aiming toward the typologizing of the American Sociologist as a person,<sup>6</sup> or as a basis for comparison with other data derived from studies of the membership of other learned societies or adherents of other social sciences.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Professor Leonard Bloom informs the writer that he soon intends to embark on just such a study.

<sup>7</sup> For example, are there any significant basic background differences between American economists and sociologists? Professor Logan Wilson is reported already to be in possession of much important data concerning the economists.

*Addendum.* The age distribution of the 310 members is: 20-24: 4. 25-29: 27. 30-34: 38. 35-39: 43. 40-44: 46. 45-49: 45. 50-54: 40. 55-59: 27. 60-64: 25. 65-69: 5. 70-74: 5. 75-79: 3. 80-84: 2.

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## BEFUDDLED GERMANY A GLIMPSE OF MAX SCHELER

HOWARD BECKER

University of Wisconsin

"The German mind" was and is in many instances chameleon-like. The interval between Versailles and Hitler was marked by amazing changes of front on the part of intellectuals—changes not only from year to year but almost from hour to hour. The social philosopher and sociologist Max Scheler, to choose one example, shifted position many times, and had the power to induce similar shifts among his followers. Failure to recognize this fluidity of German mentality led many observers to take Hitler too lightly: "The Nazis? They'll soon fade out."\*

MAPS made in the Middle Ages are highly instructive—not for the geographical information they contain, but for their revelation of a mental characteristic not confined to the Middle Ages alone. Whenever the map draftsman was confronted with a large unexplored area about which little or nothing was known, he covered up the lack of positive knowledge by judiciously scattering "wonders" here and there. Rumors had reached him telling of elephants with trunks at both ends, two-headed serpents, feathered men, and maidens beauteous although speckled; what could be simpler than to fill up the glaring vacant spot on the map with these gratifying symbols of knowledge?

Germany of the nineteen-twenties and -thirties, and especially intellectual Germany, was mapped by most explorers in this good old romantic fashion. They went to Berlin (perhaps the very poorest place from which to get a picture of the country) and from the frog's-eye view thus gained reported "facts" quite on a par with the fill-in fictions of the map draftsman of the Middle Ages. One man reported enthusiastic loyalty to the Republic and the "ideals of Locarno"; another told lurid tales of Nationalist plots and the impending Hohenzollern restoration; still others prattled about the final defeat of

the National Socialists by the Communists. Sometimes the same correspondent sent in stories in the course of the same week that completely contradicted each other.

Some of this confusion was undoubtedly due to downright ignorance; some more resulted from location in a cosmopolitan center, Berlin, about as representative of Germany as New York is of its up-state hinterland; still more flowed from the confusion of the Germans themselves. Until the explorer lived with the Germans as a German, which few of them took the trouble to do, he could never become completely aware of the possibility that a member of any of the less extreme parties might one day breathe the most ardent pacifism and the next subscribe to *Machtpolitik*.

In fine, there were no two-headed serpents or feathered men, but there was intellectual befuddlement, even among the intellectuals. American correspondents naively expected Germans to be consistent although Americans were not. Result: obfuscation. In the body of this essay a young diplomat, "Herden," with whom the writer was intimately acquainted, is the symbol of this befuddlement. We first meet him on his way to a lecture by the great social philosopher, Max Scheler; this lecture was actually delivered to the officers of the Reichswehr shortly before Scheler's death in June, 1928, and the writer received an account of the lecture from both Scheler and "Herden." No representatives of the press were admitted.

The strange medley of hope and despair

\* This checks substantially with conclusions reached by Erik Homburger Erikson in "Hitler's Imagery and German Youth," *Psychiatry* 5:475-493, Nov. 1942, working from an entirely different approach.—Ed.

here manifested was characteristic of the German intellectual; the German mind was in flux, and the patterns in which it finally crystallized are now all too obvious.

\* \* \*

The massive portals of the Reichstag building looked hard and aggressive enough, certainly. Herden hurriedly showed the uniformed Cerberus his new pass, not without a new feeling of dignity and importance. "Diplomat-in-training! H'm. . . Step right in, sir."

No need to hurry, of course, but somehow, in two short weeks the bustle of Berlin had crept into his blood. Odd, how tense one felt; Freiburg, with its leisurely ways, was positively somnolent in contrast. But, one dare not run up stairways. . . .

Queer place, Prussia. The Victory column and the parkway leading up to it, for instance. That marble hymn to the Hohenzollerns would be unthinkable in Baden. And here, at the head of the stairway, this great bust of Bismarck! His eye followed the line of red plush carpet. Surely not Moltke? Yes, that was he; the Iron Chancellor and his field marshal facing each other—what could be more appropriate? "Perpetual peace is a dream, and not even a beautiful dream!" Well, Hellmut von Moltke had never dreamed—not with that eagle's profile!

Why had he entered the diplomatic service. . . . Certainly the hopes raised by Locarno, Thoiry, the League of Nations found no echo in these surroundings. No doubt this philosopher's lecture to the Reichswehr officers would be Treitschke all over again. How did it go?—"The hope of banishing war is not only meaningless but immoral, for its disappearance would turn the earth into a great temple of selfishness." Or even Nietzsche: "Ye shall love peace as a means to new wars, and the short peace more than the long." To have to listen to more of that bilge! Oh, the shrewd philosophers!

This must be the assembly hall; the group of officers would indicate as much. No black-and brass helmets; to be sure, but perhaps those were only worn for parades and reviews?

Already almost full! Well, the seat be-

tween the men in civilian blacks would probably make approving nods at the philosopher's purple passages unnecessary. No telling how unpleasant the officers might make it if one curled one's lip occasionally.

"Beg pardon, sir, but can you perhaps tell me something about the lecturer? We still have a few minutes before he starts."

The old gentleman with the scar looked half-inquiringly at his questioner. "About Max Scheler? About Max Scheler? Have you never heard of him before? Well, well. Thomas Mann—you know Thomas Mann?—says he is one of the most important thinkers in contemporary Germany; Hans Driesch—ah, I see you know Driesch—says that Scheler, Bergson and Russell are the three greatest living philosophers; Keyserling says he is the greatest stimulator to metaphysical thinking within the whole guild of philosophers; he wrote several extremely important books during the World War—in fact, he was *the* war philosopher—and was special envoy at the Hague and Geneva during those last difficult years; he was one of the directors of the Research Institute for Social Science at Cologne, and held the chair of social philosophy. You were only seventeen when the armistice was signed? But where have you been since then? No, no, don't look so embarrassed; Scheler is my hobby, and I can't expect everyone to follow the good old German custom of amateur philosophizing. But, just the same, you should some day trace the change in Scheler from his first proclamations of a "holy war" to his later efforts to make good Europeans of us; of course, he is a Bavarian, and was never so completely militarized as we Prussians—you are also South German?—so perhaps the change was not so difficult as I myself have found it to be. . . . Here he comes now."

Short, stocky, head bowed sharply forward; some fussy fumbling with the papers on the reading-stand; first words spoken into the bosom of his ill-fitting coat, and inaudible even to those in the first row. The old gentleman with the scar smiled serenely; "Wait a moment or two," he said.

Now single words spurt out far enough to

be heard; "... invited. . . Minister of the Reichswehr, Herr Gessler . . . war . . . peace . . . conflict of idealists. . . ." The darting, deep-set eyes seem to fasten upon each man in the audience separately; the expressive hands convey whole sentences with a conjuror's sleight.

"... most vociferous . . . militarists, who chatter about national honor and the good old days until one is fairly nauseated."

What was this! Certainly not the thing he had expected when he looked at Bismarck and Moltke, and those phrases had marched clanking into mind. . . . He leaned forward, intent on every word.

"They have no notion of the real condition of their country; they live in an unreal past. The romantic pacifists, who live in an unreal future, on the other hand, are quite as oblivious to the sobering facts of the present day. We realists, if I may presume to speak inclusively, must create a middle ground of public opinion; calm, balanced opinion. Nothing is to be gained by overheated oratory—we must appraise the essential worth of war and peace as social phenomena before indulging in rhetoric.

"The idea that Kant formulated in his 'Lasting Peace' is fully four hundred centuries old; it may have positive value—how else could it have endured so long? But Spengler says that this 'ideal' disports itself in every dying civilization, *prima facie* evidence that the culture which harbors it is decadent. The cyclical theory of history, however, of which Spengler is but the latest and most clamorous advocate, is only partially true; true for cultures, but not for civilizations. These last are even now slowly trickling together, to form one day the mighty current of a united humanity. And this in a not too distant future; everywhere, if one has eyes to see and ears to hear, there may be detected changes which will make this free folk, united in a common task, at last possible; a day will surely come when wars shall be no more!

"But the value of this peace? Is it, in those words branded so deep in the German consciousness, '*not even a beautiful dream*'? Well, we cannot escape value-judgments, but there are values and values! In the light of the eternal values, the highest guiding stars of humanity, I here say that achievement of lasting peace is the noblest goal to which any statesman can aspire!"

The old gentleman with the scar nodded so vigorously that his pince-nez fell with a tinkle on the floor. The other civilian in black applauded resoundingly, but his hearty hand-clappings were lost in the noise of the officers' applause!

But now the voice which had risen from an indistinct rumble to a clear, hopeful tone took on a trace of harshness; grim lines ranked themselves on the face which a moment before had been almost optimistic.

"A disagreeable and thankless task it is at best, however, to insist that we never forget the present situation; we Germans particularly, because of our unhappy present, are all too prone to lose ourselves in dreams of the future; a sobered realist, not carried away by desire for wish-fulfillment, must admit that *only within the boundaries of Western Europe* does there seem any immediate prospect of peace, and this only by dint of strenuous effort to lessen national hatreds and establish more even-handed social justice. Even in Europe it is only *possible*; the tension between Italy and her near neighbors, Austria and France, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, Britain and Russia—this tension makes the word probable seem over-sanguine. Add to these taut quiverings the danger of class war—not so much as two years ago, to be sure, but one hundred graves in Vienna. . . .

"Outside of Europe the task is too great: race friction in India, China, Africa; hidden but none the less real antagonism between the United States and Japan; the difficulties of disarmament even when the nations concerned speak the same language—no man with any sense of reality, no matter how good his intentions, can deny that lasting peace for the whole world in the near future is a dream. A beautiful dream, to be sure, but a dream none the less; the good European must concentrate all his powers on the problems close at hand, without attempting to legislate for the world at large.

"We dare not, however, admit even to ourselves that lasting peace in Europe is not possible; we must believe in its possibility with a desperate faith which will cause us to bend every energy toward its fulfillment. We must create the probability!

"The first thing Germans who are also good Europeans can do is to help revise our present ideas of war and peace; this we must do, or all other effort is fruitless.

"To begin with, romantically-minded mili-



tarists who cherish the illusions of pre-war days must be put to rout. We must din into the Steel Helmets and the Nazis the conviction that war is *not* necessary to the heroic virtues; *absolute pacifism can be heroic*; although the conscientious objector is mistaken and foolish, we must admit his moral courage and his noble fortitude. Although during the last war we had many men who were mistaken and foolish, it is not altogether to our credit that we had fewer with the pacifist sort of moral courage than had any other country. Again, abolition of war does *not* necessarily mean 'base commercialism and the sloth of luxury'; it is the peace *after war* which develops these detestable excrescences. Peacetime military service, the fetish of the militarist, is *not* essential to the combatting of these evils; self-sacrifice for the good of the State can be cultivated, by means of a year of labor in the service of the local community or even the Republic, well enough to serve every practical purpose. Conscription for common labor—would that it were common to all! Further, war is *not* necessary to national unity; though there is some color to this assertion, it is the color of blood! War can tear national groups apart as well as cement them together; not all States which have endured have been founded upon force and conquest; culture, in its highest sense, does not depend upon war for creation or preservation."

The speaker drew himself up and darted a levelled finger at his hearers.

"These are radical departures from the beliefs I once held and propagated; they are radical departures from our whole pre-war ideology, from the pernicious doctrines of Schiller, Treitschke, and Hegel—doctrines which must be forever abandoned!

"Next, we must make clear to the people the origin of most of these teachings, and of the will to believe in them; they spring from the ethos of the officer caste. That ethos, so long as it remained within the caste, was not especially harmful, but we have seen the result when it was taken over by a whole people. Society before the war (and not only *before* the war) was modelled along army lines; the populace loved militarism as children love a circus; other nations *necessarily* misunderstood our gorgeous parades, our sham battles, our delight in fluttering pennants and gay uniforms. They did not know that when a six-foot Pomeranian grenadier in all the clanging glory of his brassy accoutrement strode by, he was not on his way to wipe

out red-coated Tommies, nor any enemy at all, but—just going for a walk, 'to be admired and to be seen.' When war actually started, how the common folk complained about the 'ugly field-gray'! They wanted their bearskin shakos and brass buttons again.

"This ethos of the officer caste led also to lack of responsible control; the Kaiser was First War-Lord, and he played, as he thought, a high hand. But we all know, do we not, that he was only a pawn on the board of the Junkers? He was *their* Lord, but only in the sense of their mocking couplet:

"Unser König absolut  
Wenn er unsern Willen tut."

Their support, however, gave him courage to act without the knowledge of his ministers; instance the fact that Bethmann-Hollweg was not informed that he had given an unconditional promise to stand by Austria until *after* the ultimatum to Serbia had been delivered; Wilhelm II signed a blank check, and the German people had to pay the piper!

"And if the logic of events throws the German people into the arms of a dictator, who will almost inevitably represent the military ethos, what then?

"Our duty as good Europeans will not be completed with the successful assault upon the war for war's sake militarist; the romantic pacifist, with no sense of harsh realities, may be equally dangerous. We dare not go too far in the direction of pacifism until other nations which now have the power to make Germany the cockpit of Europe, and which have already made her the Cinderella of Western civilization, show more desire for lasting peace on a basis of even-handed justice. Do not forget that the lie of sole guilt for the war still stands, that we have been compelled to destroy our pitifully weak defenses in the East, that French troops still trample the West, and that we are expected to pay the war debts of all Europe. Merely because we have been granted a seat on the unsavory mandate commission of the League should not lead us to befool ourselves; merely because we are 'consulted' as to the sums extorted from us we need not blink facts—we are still bound hand and foot, ten years after the signing of the treaty of 'peace.' Until we get justice instead of good wishes, we must unalterably oppose all forms of pacifism which regard the ultimate goal of lasting peace as attainable *now*.

"In the face of these hard realities, the course before us as Germans and good Europeans is



plain. We cannot allow ourselves to be degraded to hewers of wood and drawers of water for other nations, nor can we allow ourselves to combine with the Soviets against the rest of Europe, as some of our Marxian 'pacifists' and some groups on the extreme Right—paradox of paradoxes—desire. But in simple justice, we should not be asked to disarm further when the other nations of Europe all have armies from two to twenty times as large as our insignificant little Reichswehr, and when some of these armies have the insufferable impudence to 'maneuver' in our Rhineland ten years after the armistice!

"In eight or ten years, the policy of Locarno and Thoiry will bear fruit—if our former foes do not blight it by driving our military extremists to desperate measures—and lasting peace within the boundaries of Western Europe may then be secure, but we must not delude ourselves into thinking this will mean lasting peace for the whole world! Legal or institutional pacifism as developed in the League and the Hague Tribunal is a highly significant development, but still no nation has relinquished its unconditioned sovereignty, and no decrees can really be enforced, as the perfervid protestations of the merely 'moral' nature of recent pacts amply show! The international bureaus and economic conferences of Geneva can do a great deal to bind nations closer together, scientific bodies under the aegis of the League can do much to stop war at its source—but we dare not depend utterly on the good will of other nations! For example, the deliberations on reparations raise only the question 'What can we squeeze out of this helpless mass?' and never 'What is right in view of the recent revelations as to the origins of the war?'

"Yes, let us wipe out utterly the old militarism from the minds of our people, let us educate them to be good Europeans, let us treasure the ideal of lasting peace as the noblest goal of political aspiration—but let us also oppose the extreme pacifism which would make us the prey of every political adventurer in neighboring countries.

"We must, in this day in which we live, learn to be *instrumental* militarists; we must—this audience must—build an army large enough to maintain our national independence in the *full* sense of that phrase. It must also be an army realistic enough to regard itself only as a means to this end and to cast off the folly of war for war's sake, idealistic enough to see as the final goal of our instrumental militarism a new and better Germany, a united Europe, and a world *some day* at peace—lasting peace!"

Applause, clatter of seats, the shuffle of filing out. Officers in clumps; staccato comment, buzzing exposition. Here comes the minister of the Reichswehr, deep in conversation with Scheler. They go down the stairway, pass Moltke, Bismarck, vanish. The old gentleman with the scar strains his neck after them with a satisfied air. "Well, my young diplomat-to-be, when I was your age we heard different doctrine; yes, yes, different doctrine."

Thoughtful exit via the red plush carpet. Different doctrine! Here, at the head of the stairway, this great bust of Bismarck. And back there Moltke. The Iron Chancellor and his field marshal facing each other . . . smiling sardonically? Different doctrine?

## OFFICIAL REPORTS *and* PROCEEDINGS



William F. Ogburn has been appointed by President Lundberg as representative of the American Sociological Society to the Foundation for the Study of Cycles (see p. 219).

President George Lundberg will act as Standing Alternate Delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies until such time as Harold Phelps shall be able to serve.

Stuart A. Queen has been appointed representative of the Society at the meeting of the Department of Higher Education, National Education Association, at St. Louis.

J. P. Lichtenberger has been appointed to represent the Society at the Forty-seventh Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel, Philadelphia, April 9-10.

### APPOINTMENTS OF SECTION CHAIRMEN FOR 1943

#### *Sections*

- Social Psychology: E. A. Schuler, University of Louisiana  
Population: Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington  
Community and Ecology: Rupert Vance University of North Carolina  
The Family: M. C. Elmer, University of Pittsburgh  
Social Research: Raymond Bowers, Bureau of Selective Service  
Measurement in Sociology: Harry Alpert, Office of War Information  
Social Theory: J. O. Hertzler, University of Nebraska  
Criminology: Thorsten Sellin, University of Pennsylvania  
Sociometry: Charles P. Loomis, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

#### *General Meetings*

1. The Structure and Problems of Post-War Society.
2. Community Organization for War and Post-War Activities.
3. Sociology of South America.

### REPORT OF THE DELEGATE TO THE AMERICAN DOCUMENTATION INSTITUTE

The American Documentation Institute has continued its normal activities in the fields of auxiliary publication and general microfilm service, as well as the Oriental Science Literature Service. The maintenance of these activities for a considerable period of time in the future has been assured by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation.

The Institute has made its facilities and organization available to agencies concerned with scientific and documentation problems of the war and the post-war period. A conference was held during 1942 on the problems of obtaining and distributing foreign journals under war conditions. The Oriental Science Literature Service furnishes abstracts and translations of Japanese scientific literature otherwise inaccessible. Discussions are in process as to the possibilities for the initiation of a co-ordinated translation service for Russian scientific papers.

The importance of the Institute is not measured by the quantitative scope of its activities, since it serves essentially as a pioneering and policy-forming group. In addition, it constitutes a liaison between the activities, needs and resources of the governmental agencies and those of private institutions and individual scholars throughout the country.

Respectfully submitted,  
IRENE B. TAEUBER, *Delegate*

### REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE AT MEETING OF DEPARTMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION, NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

... After listening to the presentations by Alonzo F. Meyers of New York University and President Ernest O. Melby of the University of Montana, I was satisfied that the new venture had a legitimate function to perform. Briefly this function consists in serving as a pressure group, whereas our other academic organizations in general neither seek to operate in this manner nor have the necessary facilities to be effective therein. ... A constitution was adopted. Officers were elected as follows:

President, H. B. Wells, President of Indiana

University; Vice-President, Walter Morgan, President Emeritus of Western Illinois State Teachers College; Secretary-Treasurer, Alonzo F. Myers, Professor of Education at New York University; Executive Committee, Eugene Briggs, President of Phillips University; W. M. Mallon, Dean, St. Louis University.

The following proposals for action were approved by the group present:

1. It was agreed to urge upon the officers and the Executive Committee of the new Department the desirability of establishing a committee for the improvement of college teaching.

2. It was agreed to cooperate with the N.E.A. Commission in promoting the matter set forth in the . . . statement on colleges and the war. . . . This urges upon the President of the United States and Congress and the War Manpower Commission the importance of keeping colleges and universities functioning. It proposes that those not needed for the armed services be assigned on some quota basis to higher education and that scholarships be made available through Federal funds to enable and to encourage eligible youth to enter or remain in college.

3. It was voted that similar action should be undertaken with a view to enabling those withdrawn from college to participate in the war effort later to return to complete their college work. Also that provision be made as promptly as possible for men incapacitated in

the armed services. This was adopted as a directive to the Executive Committee of the Department.

4. It was voted as the sense of the meeting that there should be established after the war an International Education Office similar to the International Labor Office which was affiliated with the League of Nations.

STUART A. QUEEN

#### LAST MINUTE COMMUNICATIONS

Leland De Vinney, University of Wisconsin, Book Review Editor of the *Review*, has been commissioned in the Army Morale Division and has gone to Washington.

The Third Annual Conference for Teachers of the Social Sciences in High Schools and Junior Colleges will be held at the University of Chicago, July 21, 22, and 23. The theme for the conference is "The Post-War World and the Role of the Social Sciences." Programs may be had by addressing Earl S. Johnson, Box 51, Social Science Research, University of Chicago.

Recently we received word of the death on February 6 of Francis M. Vreeland, 606 E. Anderson Street, Greencastle, Indiana. He was Professor of Sociology at DePauw University.

And also of the death on January 7 of W. B. Stone, Commerce, Texas.

H. Ashley Weeks has been granted leave of absence by the State College of Washington to join the Research Branch of the Special Services Division of the War Department.

## CURRENT ITEMS



### EDITORIAL NOTES

A number of members of the Society have been sending in subscriptions for men in the armed forces. The Managing Editor commends this practice to teachers and friends of graduate students who have been called into the armed forces and who would like to continue receiving the *Review*, or who would like to have a complete file available upon their return. Students who have been called into the armed forces are eligible to continue their memberships at student rates.

### COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINION

This section is for the expression of significant comment and opinion. The inclusion of opinions regarding book reviews or articles published in the *Review* does not imply the right of an aggrieved author to publish a reply herein. The policy of the *Review* is liberal and democratic, but this implies that first of all it must serve its readers. A man who has written a book has already had his "say," and if he does not like one particular review, there are usually other reviews also. Honest and fearless book reviewing is not encouraged if the reviewers are faced with the risk of continued argument to which they must give attention after their work is done. At the same time, the organ of the American Sociological Society should, it seems, not allow important opinions among sociologists to go without some channel of public expression. The Editor takes full responsibility for the choice of what to include in this section, basing this choice upon the interests of the readers and the general morale of the Society rather than upon considerations of justice or injustice to individual authors. The Book Review Department takes no responsibility here.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *American Sociological Review*:

May I comment briefly on the recent reviews<sup>1</sup> (Oct. 1942) of Stuart C. Dodd's *Dimensions of*

<sup>1</sup> See Henry Ozanne, *American Journal of Sociology*, March 1943, for a more detailed and technical criticism of a review of Dodd's book by Ethel Shanas.

*Society*? Perhaps such reviews should be ignored, but the record should show that not all sociologists in 1942 concurred with these gentlemen.

Mr. Bell implies that the book's postulates are unclear or nonexistent and that there is no mathematics in it except for the chapter on correlation with which he finds no fault. If Mr. Bell understood his assignment to be merely an evaluation of the mathematics of the work, as he says, he should have concluded his review with his first paragraph; instead, he goes on to stress the difference between mathematics and stenography and to discuss the function of mathematics in natural science which Dodd and everyone else knows as well as Bell; he ends by implying that Dodd is a mathematical illiterate and that his essay is worthless both for science and sociology—which obviously are antithetic disciplines for Bell. However, if we take Bell's definition of mathematics as "an algoristic system of symbols," it is difficult to see how he can dismiss the book with a few well-known Bell-ringing wisecracks. Some reputable mathematicians, including at least one of Bell's Cal Tech colleagues, find Dodd's work to be more than a "feeble mathematical pun."

Many theorems capable of empirical testing can be deduced by mathematical manipulation of S-notation. If only one such theorem aids in exposing new relationships between social phenomena or in clarifying known relationships, Dodd's work will have advanced empirical science; but if no empirical counterparts for such theorems can be found, the mere fact that such theorems can be deduced from S-theory proves the generative or algoristic power of the system which thereby becomes mathematical by Bell's own definition. The system might be useless for natural science but it would not be "useless" for mathematics as conceived by Hilbert and presumably by Bell.

If S-theory succeeds in organizing all quantitative (and qualitative, as a special case) descriptions of social data into a coherent, parsimonious, operational continuum, it is no mean achievement. It is the only system I have seen which makes such an ambitious attempt. Dodd explicitly disclaims perfection or finality. Only



Jehovah, Pareto, and a few others I could name, claim or imply that their systems are final and perfect; Stuart Dodd does not belong among such Jehovistic gentry. Linné's system of notation and classification was not perfect but it certainly was a substantial scientific contribution.

I am forced to conclude that Bell dismisses Dodd almost with a sneer and feels the Research Suggestions are "... profoundly pretentious to one mathematician by trade" ... because Bell believes mathematics is the handmaid of the "natural" sciences, that social phenomena are not "natural," and social science therefore never can become "real" science; hence, would-be social scientists must forever remain with philosophers, mystics, and reformers—and be damned to them.

Parsons is seriously devoted to the development of natural science sociology and few men see more clearly than he the necessity for careful systematic theory; he also is aware that methodological theory is an organic aspect of substantive theory. Therefore, after quoting Dodd's purpose properly—the organization of sociological concepts into a consistent system—it is surprising and disconcerting to find him using "system" in another sense throughout the remainder of his review—despite the fact that Dodd has a special heading (pp. 18-24) on "The Concept of a System (*In This Volume*)" (Italics mine). Thus, Parsons condemns Dodd for not writing a book Parsons wishes Dodd had written. Both Bell and Parsons are guilty of this; neither faces the issue fairly: has Dodd done what he attempted?; if so, is it worth doing? Honesty and candor compel Parsons and anyone who will read the book to answer the first question affirmatively; the second question is more important and cannot be answered by Bell, Bain, or Parsons: only time can answer this 64-dollar question.

Neither Parsons nor Bell pays proper attention to Dodd's delimitation of his problem in Chapter I (esp. pp. 8, 18 ff). He clearly states the work is largely methodological, not substantive, theory; it is descriptive rather than calculative; it vouches for the reliability of no illustrative data; it deals only with recorded data—"good, bad, or indifferent" (the *quality* of data is an empirical, not a theoretical, problem); it "... tells how they (data) may be classified, and prepares them in standardized and parsimonious form ready for further manipulation to discover their deeper relationships ..." (p. 18). (This is Bell's agnostic criterion. Such

manipulation may reveal the adequacy or inadequacy of the data and the presence or absence of significant relationships; hence, the theory is creative and even calculative in the proper sense of these terms). "It does not seem possible to deduce theorems and corollaries about phenomena from this theory alone" (p. 18). (Dodd and others have shown elsewhere that this may be a too modest view of S-theory though it is correct that new relationships are seldom suggested or revealed by any single "theory alone." However, certain theories are much more productive than others and some are more creative than even their authors imagine. S-theory may well prove a good example of this.) "History also records instances, not of apathy, but of active opposition, to improved symbols. One is the invention of the zero ..." (p. 22). (Bell knows this and Parsons should note it; both of them should read the Note to Chapter II, pp. 120-123, more carefully than they appear to have done.)

My net impression from these two "reviews" is that Bell thinks the "Queen of the Sciences" is insulted by being asked to reign over the social sciences and Parsons thinks Dodd should not have written a systematic treatise, even a methodological one, without first refuting all that Max Weber, *et al*, have written. Since no one can refute them *in toto*, sociological theorizing becomes an exegetical exercise to show how all great theorists "really" agree, just as theologians have been "harmonizing" the Scriptures for the past 2,000 years and, for the last 200 years, showing that there "really" is no conflict between "science" and "religion." This is intellectual husk-pawing; there is not a creative kernel in a carload; it is pseudo-scientific chaff. Sociological (and all scientific) theory must rise above this low level or sink to the still lower level of oblivion.

Most of the first criticism of Darwin's work was completely beside the point he was trying to establish. When real criticism finally came, Darwin himself had anticipated most of it. Later research showed almost all his hunches on the "processes" of evolution were unsound, but the big central idea was verified; the Copernican "system" had the same history (orbits are not circles, etc.). I am not suggesting Dodd is a Darwin or a Copernicus: the "big central idea" of his work is not his own creation, viz., that social phenomena are natural phenomena and therefore can be studied by natural science methods, the most powerful of which are statistical and quantitative. His great con-

tribution is the invention of a notation and classification system by which all quantitative social data can be related to each other. It may even be possible to write all physical and biological concepts in S-notation. This is a revolutionary step toward the conceptual unification of all natural science. His "system" may be defective, it may be supplanted by another system based on different postulates, but it is a "big central idea" and no future scholar can work in this field without great indebtedness to Dodd.

Any man who devotes twenty years to the production of a work like *Dimensions* deserves more than a "feeble mathematical sneer" and condemnation for not having paid tribute to Max Weber, *et al.* Dodd is not unaware of the work of other sociologists, living and dead. In my opinion, if he errs in this respect, it is because he gives them more credit and takes them more seriously than they deserve. In *Dimensions*, he was not writing a history or critique of social theory; he was producing methodological social theory which he hopes future social scientists can use; if they can and do, future historians of social theory will have to write about Dodd's work, whether they like it or not, and future social theorists will have to master S-theory.

In his final chapter, Dodd makes this significant remark: "This appraisal is, of course, tentative, both because it is made by the author who is not an impartial judge of his own creation and because it is made too early. For a mature appraisal of its contribution, its use or non-use by sociologists, in whole or in parts, over a long period of time is required." This, I submit, is the statement of a modest, scientific-minded man. It is a sentence Charles Darwin might have written. Dodd can afford to wait. Copernicus had to wait; Galileo and Newton had to wait; so did many a creative man in all the fields of art and science. What critics say pro and con, be they banal, bellicose, or parsonic, about a technically competent exposition of a "big central idea" will be little noted nor long remembered. Time is the final inexorable judge and it will render its decision in this case as it has in so many similar ones. From that decision there is no appeal. So those of us who believe Stuart Dodd has made a significant contribution to the methodology and logic of natural science rest our case.

READ BAIN

*Miami University*

## RESEARCH NOTES

### NOTE ON THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL BACKGROUND ON THE SORTING OF ATTITUDE STATEMENTS

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Soon after L. L. Thurstone first developed the technique of scaling attitudes by the method of equal-appearing intervals, Stuart A. Rice raised the fundamental question of the constancy of the scale-values assigned to the items in attitude tests constructed by the Thurstone method. He said:

"It may be contended that not only the 'equal-seeming interval' but the order of propositions itself may differ considerably among different groups, on the average, as a result of differences in cultural background. An opinion characteristically regarded as favorable, or favorably disposed, to the Negro in the South, might be characteristically regarded as unfavorable, or unfavorably disposed, in the North, and vice versa. . . . If each group requires a measuring scale built up for that group alone, direct comparisons between groups as to average tendencies become impossible, although comparative variability might still be determined. . . . [If this is the case] we must be contented to recognize that a scale devised with the aid of judges in Boston, for example, when applied in Atlanta, would interpret attitudes solely in terms of, or relative to, a Bostonian culture pattern."<sup>1</sup>

In his commentary on Rice's chapter, Professor Thurstone agreed that this was a fundamental problem in the scaling of attitudes but predicted that empirical tests of the question would reveal only insignificant differences in the scale-values and in the rank order of the items.

Since the time of this discussion, several investigators have attacked the problem by testing whether the *attitudes* of the judges had a significant effect on the scale-values of the items they sorted.<sup>2</sup> In each of these investigations the

<sup>1</sup> S. A. Rice, "Statistical Studies of Social Attitudes and Public Opinion," Chap. XI, pp. 187-188, in S. A. Rice (ed.), *Statistics in Social Studies*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930.

<sup>2</sup> E. D. Hinckley, "The Influence of Individual Opinion on Construction of an Attitude Scale," *Jour. Soc. Psychol.*, 1932, 3, 283-296. L. W. Ferguson, "The Influence of Individual Attitudes on Construction of an Attitude Scale," *Jour. Soc. Psychol.*,

conclusion was reached that attitudes of sorters had no appreciable influence upon their sorting of the attitude statements.

It will be noted, however, that all the judges used by these investigators were American. And while they may have varied somewhat in cultural background, it is doubtful whether their cultural variation was great enough to test very adequately Rice's hypothesis that marked differences in cultural background may produce significant differences in sorting. A really crucial test of this hypothesis would require a comparison of the scale-values obtained when groups of judges from very greatly different cultural backgrounds are used.

An almost ideal instrument with which to test this hypothesis is afforded by the test of Attitudes toward the Native developed by I. D. MacCrone in a South African cultural setting.<sup>3</sup> This test, which was constructed by the method of equal-appearing intervals, was used in an adapted form in this country by Robert K. Merton.<sup>4</sup> Merton assumed that the scale-values of the test items would be unaffected by the cultural difference, even though the word *Negro* was substituted for *native* in the attitude statements wherever this word appeared, and other statements were reworded to make them applicable to the American cultural situation.

It was to test the validity of Merton's assumption and thus to test the hypothesis of the inconstancy of scale-values when judges from two widely-differing cultures are used that the study reported here was carried out.

**Procedure.** The 30 items of the MacCrone scale, as adapted by Merton, were submitted to 100 students in sociology classes at the University of Alabama for sorting. Seventy-two of the sorters were residents of Southern states, and 28 were residents of Northern states. The same directions for sorting that MacCrone used<sup>5</sup> were given the sorters.

On the basis of the sortings by the University of Alabama students, new scale-values and Q-values were computed graphically for all the statements. These new scale-values, which will

be referred to as "Alabama scale-values," were then compared with the scale-values obtained by MacCrone, using 200 European students in South Africa, in four ways:

1. A product-moment coefficient of correlation between the two sets of scale-values was computed.

2. The two sets of scale-values were compared item by item to see which items, if any, differed significantly in scale-values.

3. A coefficient of rank-order correlation between the two sets of items was computed.<sup>6</sup>

4. As a final check on the differences in scale-values, the 100 sorters were asked to take the test, checking the items with which they agreed and marking with an X the items with which they disagreed. Their papers were scored, using the Alabama scale-values, and then were scored again, using the MacCrone scale-values. A product-moment coefficient of correlation between the two sets of scores was then computed. The means of the two sets of scores were compared to see if they differed significantly for the total group, for the sub-group of students whose residence is in the South, or for the sub-group whose residence is in the North.

**Findings.** The results of the comparisons referred to above are given here in the same order:

1. The product-moment coefficient of correlation between the two sets of scale-values was 0.986.

2. A critical ratio of 3.0 or more was found for only four items. (Numbers 4, 6, 19, and 29 as numbered by MacCrone and by Merton.) Three other items showed a critical ratio between 2.0 and 2.3. (Numbers 5, 17, and 18.) Without further evidence, there would be little value in speculating as to the reasons for these differences, but it is interesting to note that item 6 was also found by MacCrone to differ significantly in scale-value between two groups of his judges.<sup>7</sup>

3. The coefficient of rank-order correlation between the MacCrone scale-values and the Alabama scale-values was 0.99.

<sup>6</sup>Thurstone's analogy of distances between railroad stations measured in miles and measured in kilometers suggests that while there might be numerical differences in the scale-values, the rank order of the items should be the same. This study does not test Thurstone's prediction, since his reference was to differences between sortings by experts and by uneducated persons. (See *Statistics in Social Studies*, pp. 195-196.) But the principle is the same here.

<sup>7</sup>MacCrone, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

1935, 6, 115-117. R. Pintner and G. Forlano, "The Influence of Attitude upon Scaling of Attitude Items," *Jour. Soc. Psychol.*, 1937, 8, 39-45.

<sup>3</sup>I. D. MacCrone, *Race Attitudes in South Africa*, Oxford: The University Press, 1937.

<sup>4</sup>R. K. Merton, "Fact and Factitiousness in Ethnic Opiniones," *Amer. Sociol. Review*, 1940, 5, 13-28.

<sup>5</sup>See MacCrone, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158.



4. The product-moment coefficient of correlation between the test scores based on the Alabama scale-values and the test scores based on the MacCrone scale-values for the total group ( $N = 100$ ) was 0.988. The critical ratio for the difference between means (of Alabama scoring and MacCrone scoring) for the total group was 0.195; for the Southern group 0.085; and for the Northern group 0.55. All of these critical ratios are far below the level of significance.

*Conclusions.* There seems no doubt that these findings *do not sustain* the hypothesis advanced (though not necessarily advocated) by Stuart A. Rice. Since the findings are in agreement with the findings of Hinckley, Ferguson, and Pintner and Forlano in regard to the effect of attitudes of judges on sorting, workers in the field of attitude-testing would seem to be justified in regarding the hypothesis of inconstancy of scale-values as eliminated.

#### NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

The *Pacific Sociological Society* elected the following officers by mail ballot. No regular annual meeting was held last year: *President*, Glen A. Carlson, University of the Redlands; *Vice Presidents*, Northern Division, Norman S. Hayner, University of Washington, Central Division, Dorothy Swaine Thomas, University of California, Southern Division, Melvin J. Vincent, University of Southern California; *Secretary-treasurer*, Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington; *Members of the Advisory Council*, William Kirk, Pomona College, Samuel H. Jameson, University of Oregon.

The *Ohio Valley Sociological Society*, upon vote of its members, has decided to cancel its spring meeting, and to have its present officers continue in office until an election can be held at a legal meeting. The President is G. W. Sarvis of Ohio Wesleyan.

The *Eastern Sociological Society* is meeting on April 10 and 11 at the Hotel Martinique, New York City. Mirra Komarovsky is in charge of the general session for papers selected by committee; the general theme of the session is "Social Problems of the War." Other sessions deal with "The War and the Status of the Negro," and "The War and Our Profession" (panel discussion chaired by Robert Merton). The annual dinner is featured by a program arranged by President George Lundberg. The Executive Committee is of the opinion "that in view of the cancellation of the meetings of the national society it is even more important for the regional groups to hold meetings this year." [The Society, however, avoids all guilt of pleasure traveling in foregoing its common practice of meeting next to the boardwalk of Asbury Park.—Ed.]

*National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel.* Disruption of normal college and university programs and a desire to participate more immediately in the war are likely to lead numerous sociologists to seek new positions in the near future. The National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel, which is charged with promoting the optimum utilization of the skills of the Nation's professional men and women, is anxious to hear from any who are now or will soon become available for placement.

Functioning as a division of the War Manpower Commission's Bureau of Placement, the Roster serves as a clearing house for requests for professional personnel (except physicians, dentists and veterinarians) from the Civil Service Commission and the United States Employment Service. It also receives requests directly from the armed forces for persons qualified for commissioning as specialists, and from educational institutions for teachers. During the Roster's two and a half years of existence it has certified the names of some 140,000 persons in response to such requests. It is estimated that 25,000 of those certified have actually been placed. The Roster's primary function is to find persons to fill essential wartime jobs, rather than to find jobs for job-seekers. But the present highly dynamic condition of the professional labor market makes it imperative that the Roster be currently informed by persons who are seeking or available for employment.

About 60 professional fields are listed by the Roster, and within each field the specific interests and qualifications of individual registrants are further minutely subdivided. A punch-card file facilitates the rapid selection of persons with highly specific qualifications.

The 300,000 Roster registrants (outside the three professions previously excepted) include 1,500 sociologists—a number which incidentally exceeds the combined membership of the American Sociological Society and the Rural Sociological Society. (The former society has about 1,000 members, the latter 400; about 100 belong to both bodies, making a net total of approximately 1,300.) About 1,200 are men and 300 women. Of both sexes combined, more than a third hold doctoral degrees and three fourths have master's or higher degrees.

When the wartime training programs of the Army, Navy, and War Manpower Commission have developed to such a point that college and university officials can determine how many teachers they need or can employ, it may prove desirable for the Roster to ask the institutions for lists of personnel available for transfer either to teaching positions elsewhere or to non-academic positions. In the meantime, however, any individual professionally qualified in social or physical science who is seeking placement should write to the National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel, 1008 U Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. Registration is open to anyone, citizen or alien, who is professionally qualified in a field covered by the Roster.

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The *U. S. Civil Service Commission* wrote to the Secretary of the American Sociological Society on January 31:

"The Commission is again addressing you relative to the Federal Government's urgent need for economists, economic analysts, and statisticians, \$2,600 to \$6,500 a year plus overtime, for civilian war service. The demand for qualified persons in these fields is increasing rather than diminishing. . . .

"The greatest need is in the fields of transportation, labor, commodities, and industrial studies. Marketing, international trade, money and banking, and housing are also important fields for economist positions.

"Positions are both interesting and important to the war program. They include dealing with economic and statistical problems arising from the reoccupation of areas once held by the enemy, the sale of U. S. Securities, exports and imports in connection with the war economic program, requirements for procurement of war materials, etc. Positions will be located throughout the United States, and a few will be filled abroad.

"Requirements for the positions have been lowered. In general, only 5 years of college or university education or experience in economics or statistics, or a combination of the two, are necessary for the \$2,600 grade. The minimum requirements for the higher grades are proportionately greater. There are no age limits and no written examinations will be given."

The Cultural Relations Division of the *U. S. Department of State*, and the *China Foundation for Promoting Education and Culture*, have initiated a project to make microfilm copies of scholarly books and magazines to be sent to intellectually starved China. The *Review* has given permission for the reproduction of its text when wanted.

The Subcommittee on Morale of the *New Hampshire State Council of Defense* has issued a 26-page mimeographed bibliography on "This War We Are Fighting." It is based on the thesis that "any enduring morale is based on conviction that grows out of valid knowledge." Its headings are: Democracy and Other Ideologies, The United States (the Country and its Traditions), Our Allies, The Occupied Countries, Latin America, Our Enemies, Techniques of War, Service in War, Peace and World Reconstruction. The chairman of the Subcommittee which prepared the bibliography is Dr. James D. Squires of the Department of Social Studies, Colby Junior College, New London, New Hampshire. [It appears to be an unusually good thing of its kind, and can be obtained from the State Council of Defense, Concord, New Hampshire.—Ed.]

The *American Political Science Association* has elected the following officers for 1943: *President*, Robert E. Cushman, Cornell University; *First Vice-*

*President*, John M. Gaus, University of Wisconsin; *Second Vice-President*, Peter H. Odegard, Amherst College; *Third Vice-President*, Denna F. Fleming, Vanderbilt University; *Managing Editor*, "American Political Science Review," Frederic A. Ogg, University of Wisconsin; *Secretary-Treasurer*, Kenneth Colegrove, Northwestern University; *Assistant Secretary-Treasurer*, Harvey Walker, Ohio State University.

The American Missionary Association Division of the Board of Home Missions of the *Congregational Christian Churches* is pleased to announce that Dr. Charles S. Johnson has accepted appointment as its Director of Race Relations, effective January 1, 1943. Dr. Johnson will continue his residence in Nashville, serving as director of the Fisk Institute of Social Research and chairman of the division of Social Sciences. He will also be associated in race-relations work with the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

The *Foundation for the Study of Cycles*, 400 West 118th Street, New York proposes to present a medal to the person making the most valuable contribution to any line of cyclic research during 1943, and to award honorable mention for outstanding work along such lines in fields other than that of the winner of the medal. It is hoped to make people realize how widely the study of cycles enters into diverse sciences, such as astronomy, botany, economics, geography, psychology, zoology, and so on. It is planned to ask scientific societies to appoint advisors who by sending in articles and references thereto, will help build up a reference library and card catalog for general use, at the office of the Foundation in New York. Each advisor will be asked to indicate his opinion as to the most valuable contributions of the year to cyclic studies in his particular field. The medallist and the receivers of honorable mention will be chosen from the selections thus made.

The judges who will award the medal are C. C. Abbott of the Smithsonian Institution, V. Wynne-Edwards of McGill University, Wesley Mitchell of Columbia University, Harold E. Anthony of the Museum of Natural History at New York and Ellsworth Huntington of Yale University.

The *National Council of Parent Education*, in co-operation with Vassar Summer Institute for Family and Child Care Services in War Time, the Progressive Education Association, the Merrill-Palmer School (Detroit) and the Institute on Personality Development, has launched a new journal, the *Family-Community Digest* (published at Vassar College, 6 times a year, \$1). This is designed "to promote democratic home and community life," to present briefly and in condensed form, the important current findings and activities relating to family life and family-community relations. Ruth Mallay and Joseph K. Folsom are the editors. The

*Digest* aims to interpret scientific material from several fields for the use of family-life educators and students in college and adult education programs in the field of the family.

*Science and Society* begins its seventh year as a quarterly periodical with the publication of the papers delivered at its Institute on Problems of the War held at Hotel Astor, on November 28. The papers include one on "Women in Industry" by Professor Mildred Fairchild, of Bryn Mawr College; on "Problems of Discrimination," by John Beecher, of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, War Manpower Commission, Lucille Buchanan, of the Committee on Discrimination of the New York State War Council, and Charles A. Collins, Executive Secretary, Negro Labor Victory Committee. "The Utilization of Scientists" is discussed by Dr. Harry Grundfest of the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research, and by Professor Joseph Needham, of Cambridge University, England. Among the other contributors are Professor J. Raymond Walsh, Director of Economic Division of the C.I.O., Julius Emspak, of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, C.I.O., Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party and Professor Paul M. Sweezy, Harvard University. *Science and Society* is published from 30 East 20th Street, New York, New York.

**Science Service.** Watson Davis, Director of the Science Clubs of America, announced here today that 40 teen-age boys and girls have been selected in the second nation-wide Science Talent Search to compete in final examinations for this year's Westinghouse Science Scholarships, worth up to \$2,400. The successful contestants will be brought to Washington to attend a five-day Science Talent Institute, February 26 to March 2. This Science Talent Search is conducted by the Science Clubs of America, sponsored by Science Service. The scholarship awards are provided by the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company as an inspiration to scientific achievement in America. Some 15,000 students among the nation's million seniors in secondary schools responded and through their school officials received the science aptitude test, the first hurdle for the successful contestant in the Science Talent Search. The science aptitude test was designed to measure the student's power of understanding and deduction, rather than his knowledge of science. It was devised specially for the Science Talent Search by Dr. Harold A. Edgerton, Director, Occupational Opportunities Service, Ohio State University, and Dr. Stuart Henderson Britt, Director of the Office of Psychological Personnel of the National Research Council and Professor of Psychology at George Washington University.

**The Universities Committee on Post-War International Problems** (Ralph Barton Perry, Chairman; Leland M. Goodrich, Executive Secretary, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Massachusetts) is

organizing "Co-operating Groups" in different universities and colleges. Over 100 such groups were set up by February 11, 1943. The plans are to formulate a series of problems suitable for discussion, to furnish materials on these problems to the groups, to disseminate studies, suggestions, or opinions, to hold *ad hoc* conferences, to promote discussions, to prepare a series of systematic memoranda or monographs concerning the organization of the post-war world.

The Co-operating Groups have already been asked to consider the following, as Problem I: "Should the governments of the United Nations now formulate and announce 'a common strategy of peace'?" Problem II, to be issued in February, will be: "Should there be a 'long armistice'?" Advantages and disadvantages of a deferred final peace settlement."

Co-operating Groups, sponsors or other persons interested in the work of the Committee are invited to comment on the plan. In this initial phase of its activities the Committee is especially eager to receive suggestions of any kind that may enable it to be of the maximum usefulness.

The Committee has now received sufficient support to enable it to make a modest start. In addition to receiving a small grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, it has entered into a plan of collaboration with the World Peace Foundation which will materially augment its resources, both financial and personal. The full development of its program will depend upon obtaining further financial assistance. The fundamental beliefs underlying the formation of the Committee are as follows:

(1) The problems of the coming post-war settlement are perhaps the most difficult and the most momentous political problems with which the human mind has been confronted. The future of civilization will depend upon a wise and prudent solution of them.

(2) The character of the peace-settlement will depend in a large measure upon the conclusions reached concerning these problems, before a peace conference assembles, by the majority of the American public.

(3) In order that these conclusions may be informed and intelligent, they must be preceded by wide, patient, methodical and critical examination and discussion of the major problems.

(4) In this task American scholars, or those among them not wholly engrossed in duties connected with the military effort, have a special responsibility and a unique opportunity. They are especially qualified by knowledge, training, and perspective to contribute to the clarification of the crucial and difficult issues involved; and the formulation and publication of the results of their co-operative study and reflection may have a significant influence on general opinion and on the action of the Government.

(5) Many agencies of the Government are engaged in research on post-war problems, but while

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it is the duty of every qualified citizen to co-operate with such agencies so far as his services may be required, the results of such research are usually surrounded by official secrecy; and it is therefore important that private organizations and individuals should bring well-considered plans before the American public.

(6) Although the education of the general public through press, radio and meetings is not the task of this Committee, it is believed that the development of vigorous centers of interest in widely distributed academic localities will indirectly promote this end.

(7) While groups already exist in a number of colleges and universities for the study of these questions, it is desirable that their activities should be effectively correlated, and that additional groups should be created in other institutions so as to spread the movement as widely as possible throughout the country.

The *Yiddish Scientific Institute* at its 17th Annual Conference on January 9-10, 1943, in New York City, adopted the following resolutions:

Shocked by grief for the Nazi persecutions of the Jews which in their inhumanity surpass all the pogroms and sufferings of our people throughout their history;

Firm in our faith that the United Nations will rescue from the bloody hands of the Nazis all the stricken countries and peoples;

We pay tribute in deepest reverence and sorrow to the innumerable martyrs among our people and the hosts of sacrifices among other peoples whom Hitler's hangmen have slain.

We solemnly and unanimously resolve:

That we call on all fighting and all suffering men and women throughout the world in whom the spark of humanity lives to realize the unparalleled tragedy of the Jews under Hitler, all of whom, from infants to the aged, have been enclosed in a ghetto-prison and are marked for slaughter like sheep;

That we ask all people of learning, individuals and organizations, not to remain coldly indifferent to this horrible and deliberate annihilation of a whole people, but to awaken the conscience of the world to organize protest against the inhuman bestialities of the Nazis, to find the means to let each and every German know what the Germans are doing and warn the German people that for generations these mass murders will hang over them unless the hands of the murderers are stayed;

That we ask the governments now waging war against the Axis as soon and as effectively as possible to apply hitherto unused methods to stop the murderers;

And we affirm our faith in man and our will to continue in our work of dispassionate research in a world of peace and plenty, in which the Jewish people in all lands will be one in the family of all peoples.

Werner J. Cahnman has been appointed Lecturer in Sociology at *Fisk University*, and also Research Associate to the Julius Rosenwald Fund in Chicago. He will conduct a course in Geopolitics in co-operation with Robert W. Park.

*University of Georgia.* Joseph B. Gittler, Associate Professor of Sociology, is on leave this year and is working as Research Associate with the Population Study of the Virginia State Planning Board.

The *Massachusetts Institute of Technology* announced recently the setting up by its City Planning Division of an *Urban Redevelopment Field Station* with funds granted for the purpose by the Albert Farwell Bemis Foundation. Associated in the direction of the Field Station's research program are Professor Frederick J. Adams, head of Technology's City Planning Division, Philip H. Cornick of the Institute of Public Administration, New York City, and Edwin H. Spengler, Associate Professor of Economics at Brooklyn College and consultant to the National Resources Planning Board. Co-operating agencies include the City Planning Board of Boston, Massachusetts, which has made available to the research group its excellent file of data on physical, economic, and social conditions in Boston, and the American Public Health Association's Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, of which Dr. C-E. A. Winslow of Yale University is chairman.

One of the important problems now being studied by the Field Station is that of the rehabilitation of urban residential areas where the existing buildings are in sound structural and sanitary condition but where the neighborhood pattern is obsolete. Careful estimates are being prepared of both the capital and operating costs of bringing the environmental conditions in such areas up to a standard in line with modern needs and habits of living, particularly in respect to the planning of the local street system and the adequacy of parks, playgrounds, and other community facilities.

In addition to the municipal costs involved in such a program, studies are also being made of changes in the fiscal or administrative policies of the local government which might be necessary or desirable if such a program were to be carried out on a city-wide basis, particularly as they might relate to increases in the percentage of tax-exempt property and in the costs of maintenance and supervision for a greatly augmented program of neighborhood recreation.

Various proposals for a post-war program of urban reconstruction have been put forward by public and private agencies and it is probable that some scheme involving the participation of Federal and local authorities in co-operation with private interests will be adopted as a re-employment measure when men and materials are again available. For this reason it would seem important that local authorities have a clear understanding of the social



and economic implications of alternative proposals for the redevelopment of urban areas, as otherwise they may find themselves in the position of having to collaborate on a post-war construction program regardless of its desirability from the standpoint of long-range planning. The purpose of the Field Station is to analyze various methods of urban redevelopment which are now receiving consideration with the object of determining their relative value in terms of present-day social and economic conditions.

**Michigan State College.** Paul Honigsheim has prepared a most interesting syllabus entitled, "An Outline for the Study of the War and Conflicting Social Philosophies." In the preface he says: "The aim of this publication being as much as possible that of objectivity, it has been tried . . . to reproduce the meaning of the groups, movements, and persons in question as much as possible by using their own characteristic terms. . . . At the end of this manual is included a bibliography listing books where . . . some of the original programs, lectures, and proclamations of the main movements and their leaders may be found in English translation. . . ." [From the *Ohio Valley Sociologist*.]

**Ohio Wesleyan University.** The course in Marriage and the Family has 100 students—all juniors and seniors. Although given each semester, it has grown more consistently than any other course. The "Marriage Manual" by Stone and Stone is used so much that the library has difficulty in retaining a copy. "Incidentally," says G. W. Sarvis, "is this sociology? At any rate, the students seem to want it. And how about counseling? Do any of you sociologists really do much of it? Or does any one on your campus? I mean marriage counseling."

"Have any of you made any interesting discoveries or tried any interesting experiments? For the last year I have dispensed with monthly examinations and have given each week a dictated quiz of 15 to 40 questions—over any material covered in the course up to that point. The students are enthusiastic about it, and insist that they learn more. They avoid 'peak loads.' The final, then, is made comprehensive and rigorous." [From the *Ohio Valley Sociologist*.]

**Temple University.** Negley K. Teeters, Assistant Professor of Sociology, has collaborated with Harry Elmer Barnes in the preparation of a new textbook entitled, *New Horizons in Criminology*. Prentice-Hall announced the publication in February. James W. Woodard has recently accepted nomination to the Board of Directors of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia and to the Advisory Board of the *Journal of Legal and Political Sociology*. Dr. J. Stewart Burgess, chairman of the department, has established a series of lecture topics and speakers for a course in Marriage and Family Relationships, and among the lecturers will be Judge Nochem S. Winnet, of the local Municipal Court; Mrs. Sidonie M.

Gruenberg, director of Child Study Association of America; Mrs. G. L. Elliott, national president of the Young Women's Christian Association; Dr. Lovett Dewees of Bryn Mawr; Mrs. Emily H. Mudd, director of the Marriage Counsel of Philadelphia, and Mrs. Elizabeth H. Ross.

**Wayne University.** A committee consisting of Florence Booth, Dr. Fritz Redl, and Dr. Alfred McClung Lee, chairman of the department, has developed two curricula for the university's new pre-professional social work major. The curricula are for specialization in group work and case work and are to be administered by the Department of Sociology in the College of Liberal Arts, with Professors Lee and Booth as advisers. The curricula are planned to aid: (1) the student who wishes an immediate job on graduation; (2) the student who is trying to decide for what type of social work he is best qualified; and (3) the social worker already working who is not eligible for graduate professional training. All students who elect a major in pre-professional social work must acquire 40 credits in the field, of which a minimum of 12 credits must be in required general sociology courses. The graduate curricula in social work, leading to the M.S.W. degree, are supervised by the Graduate School of Public Affairs and Social Work, of which Dr. Lent D. Upson is Director.

In the Spring 1943 semester, Dr. Fritz Redl is offering three new courses: "The Practice of Group Leadership," "Preventive Planning in the Field of Juvenile Delinquency," and a graduate seminar in "Clinical Group Work with Children." Dr. Redl is co-operating with the Research Department, Boy Scouts of America, in a study of "Leadership Training and Troop Observation" that is being carried on simultaneously in Iowa City, New York, Springfield, Massachusetts, and Detroit. He is also co-operating in the "Detroit Group Project," an attempt to study the application of group settings for diagnostic and clinical purposes in work with children. Recent articles written by Dr. Redl are: "Group Emotion and Leadership," *Psychiatry*, and "Group Psychological Elements in Discipline Problems," *American Journal for Orthopsychiatry*.

Dr. H. Warren Dunham is serving on a university committee, the function of which is to effect a reorganization of all statistical offerings and perhaps to establish an integrated curriculum in statistics. Dr. Dunham is also offering a new course in the Spring 1943 semester, "Sociological Analysis of Abnormal Behavior." His article on "War and Personal Disorganization" appeared in the November 1942 *American Journal of Sociology*. Dr. Alfred McClung Lee, chairman of the department, is Chairman of the University Committee on Post-War Reconstruction. He has just been elected a Member of the Board, Detroit Council of Social Agencies. Dr. Edward C. Jandy, associate professor, is offering a new course in the Spring 1943 semester on "Collective Behavior." Dr. Jandy is co-operating



with Dr. Dunham and Dr. Lee in a graduate seminar in "Field Studies."

Ersel E. Le Masters, formerly of Ohio State and the University of Toledo, has been traveling for the American Red Cross and has just been commissioned as Lieutenant (j.g.) in the Naval Air Force Reserve. He is temporarily at 515 West Platte, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

The *Council on Intercultural Relations* (15 West 77th Street, New York City, Gregory Bateson, Secretary) has been organized as a clearing-house for the study of personality and culture in the various countries of the world. It endeavors to bring together the scattered materials already collected by anthropologists, psychiatrists, psychologists, specialists in child development, and others, and to study the ideas and assumptions implicit in the philosophy, religion, and arts of the different countries.

The Council tries to consider the psychological factors which will both hasten victory and provide an optimum setting for postwar reconstruction. In addition, it hopes to provide useful materials for the organizations now engaged in planning for the postwar period.

The Council is a non-membership organization, consisting of a small nuclear group of social scientists, who receive materials from and circulate materials to about five hundred people who are interested in these questions. Of these five hundred, about one hundred are collaborating social scientists. The Council is essentially a clearing-house for data on and theoretical approaches to problems of personality and culture in the major Occidental and Oriental cultures.

Mr. Bateson, who is also associated with the Film Library of the Museum of Modern Art, is scheduled to present "A Showing and an Analysis of a Nazi Propaganda Film" at the annual banquet of the Eastern Sociological Society on April 10th at the Hotel Martinique, New York.

See p. 213 for last minute communications.

## OBITUARY NOTICE

FRANZ BOAS

The death of Franz Boas on December 21, 1942, at the age of 84 ended a long and productive life devoted to the comparative study of human societies. For 37 years he was Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University. The voluminousness of his detailed investigations of esoteric cultures, of primitive linguistics and of physical anthropology makes it difficult to summarize briefly what he stood for in his professional career. Nevertheless in the broad field of sociology he worked primarily to understand what it means that human societies always, in W. I. Thomas' words, "define" in traditional and contrasting terms the universal "situations" that arise in social life. Even when as a young man he turned from studies of physics and optics to the

social sciences, he was seeking an answer to this problem. During his field work among the Eskimo, when he was investigating color of sea water, he had learned that not only geographic conditions and laws of optics helped to "define situations" but that the most significant factor in such definition was cultural experience and cultural objectives.

What Thomas called the "definition of a situation" Boas called, in its most striking manifestations "subjectively conditioned relations, . . . attitudes that arise gradually by giving values and meanings to activities, as good or bad, right or wrong, beautiful or ugly, purposive or causally determined." Not only courses of action but also human emotions had to be studied as products of cultural life and could not be rightly understood by reference to one culture alone.

His earliest attack upon the problem was to show that these cultural definitions and conventions are not forever being independently arrived at, but that in most cases they spread from tribe to tribe. This insistence on diffusion was made necessary by the prevailing scientific opinion of the time which tended to see specific traits either as direct consequences of man's psychic constitution or as coming into being of necessity as cultures reached new evolutionary levels.

The later years of his life he devoted to detailed research in linguistics, Northwest Coast ethnology and race. Linguistics he regarded as an especially appropriate tool for penetrating to cultural definitions of situations, and his researches in physical anthropology he always set over against the modern cultural "definition" of racial groups and the catastrophic social consequences which that cultural definition is responsible for.

He believed that the social sciences share with any other science dealing with the actual world around us, geology and astronomy, for instance, the fact that by careful study we can understand how a given form or a given event is determined "by inner and outer forces but we cannot explain its individuality in the form of laws." "The causal conditions of cultural happenings lie always in the interaction between individual and society and no classificatory (morphological) study of societies will solve this problem."

Franz Boas received many honors in his professional life. He was for 42 years a member of the National Academy of Sciences. He was President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1931-1932. It is seldom that any one man has been so largely responsible for the development of a scientific discipline as Boas was for American anthropology. By his own independent research, by teaching, by great labors as editor and as administrator, he was its leader for four decades.

RUTH BENEDICT

Columbia University  
February 25, 1943

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LELAND C. DEVINNEY AND THOMAS C. MCCORMICK  
University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

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*The American Spirit: A Study of the Idea of Civilization in the United States*. By CHARLES A. BEARD and MARY R. BEARD. Vol. IV. *The Rise of American Civilization*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1942. Pp. xii + 696. \$5.00.

This book, an "essential complement" of the first three volumes in the famous series, is intended to be a historical synthesis of the "world-view" expressed in public statements of American thinkers from the early years of the Republic to the present day. The following working hypotheses underlie this synthetic effort:

"Every person . . . has a conception of himself and the universe in which he lives. . . . This is his idea of his world—his world-view (p. 1). In essence and scope, a world-view is an interpretation of all life, of all human history. . . . In form, a world-view is an organization of knowledge, ideas, experiences, and desires (pp. 1-2). . . . Great world-views, when imbedded in the convictions of powerful personalities and classes and tenaciously held by a large portion of the people in general, exert a tremendous influence in history, on the fortunes of individuals, on society, on the world" (p. 4).

The world-view which expresses best the American spirit is the idea of civilization.

"This idea of civilization, in a composite formulation, embraces a conception of history as a struggle of human beings in the world for

individual and social perfection—for the good, the true, the beautiful—against ignorance, disease, the harshness of physical nature, the forces of barbarism in individuals and in society. It assigns to history in the United States, so conceived, unique features in origins, substance, and development. Inherent in the idea is the social principle" (p. 672).

We take these heuristic hypotheses of the authors for granted, suggesting only a certain clarification of the meaning in which the word "civilization" is used by them and by the thinkers whom they quote. "Idea" is a rather vague term. The idea of civilization might be identified with a descriptive concept, a result of inductive sociological abstraction. In this work, however, it is used in the sense of a comprehensive *ideal*, a synthesis of standards by which the past and the present are interpreted and evaluated, and of norms by which the future is to be guided. Though the authors try at first to distinguish abstractly "civilization" from "culture" by referring to the etymology of the two words, they cannot maintain this distinction. The idea of "civilization" as an evaluative and normative ideal formulated in American thought covers all culture, material and spiritual, viewed in a historical perspective.

There is no doubt of the importance and originality of the task undertaken by Mr. and Mrs. Beard; and it would be hardly possible

to find anybody better equipped with the historical knowledge necessary for such a task. But having unquestioningly accepted the validity of the original hypotheses, the definition of the problem and the reliability of the data, the present reviewer finds himself baffled and confused by the method. The authors were evidently faced with the familiar alternative of a theoretically objective and an evaluative approach to historical data. This alternative remains the same whether the data themselves are events or human valuations and ideologies. The authors reject the principle of objectivity in history, except when used to judge factual evidence. The very idea of historical objectivity is branded as imported from Germany by imitators of Ranke (p. 354). Incidentally, *the evaluative approach might be viewed as a German importation with at least equal justification*, for it has been much oftener emphasized in German historiography. But it seems to the reader as if subordination of theoretic knowledge to human values, especially ethical values, were considered by the authors a distinctive characteristic of American thought (see e.g., pp. 657-670). In any case, in tracing the history of American thought, they leave out of consideration the highly significant phenomenon that in every American institution where knowledge is pursued, from State universities to private industrial laboratories and endowed institutes for social research, objective scientific investigation of all fields of reality, including the very field of human values, has grown during the last fifty years at such a rate that at this time America is leading the world in every branch of theoretic science. Underlying this progress is, first, a growing realization that the instrumental usefulness of knowledge for the achievement of all human values depends on a free pursuit of theoretic discovery, unhampered by even the most exalted practical considerations; secondly, the recognition that theoretic knowledge itself is one of the great human values.

For whatever reason, the authors have chosen, apparently, the evaluative approach. They use their own idea of civilization as a frame of reference and a standard of interpretation and evaluation, trying to synthesize the partial, divergent, often conflicting, ideological statements of American thinkers. This becomes increasingly obvious as they approach the present period.

For instance, the idea of individualism, especially economic individualism, is interpreted and evaluated as an error and a danger to

American civilization, a product of two classes of intellectual exponents of the egoistic interests of capitalists: lay propagandists, and the "academic élite," detached from the life of the people and in their growing specialization "tearing apart . . . the intellectual, ethical, and moral unity inherent in the idea of civilization" (pp. 336-337). The idea that the nations of the world are interdependent and should be organized into a world community, with some kind of common political structure, is briefly discussed and rejected in Chapter IX which is devoted to "Foreign Criticisms." This title is odd, for the exponents of the idea of the world community whose opinions are quoted are Americans, some manifesting an enthusiastic conviction of American superiority, and no evidence of these ideas having been borrowed from abroad is produced. In Chapter X, "World Mission under Arms," American imperialistic tendencies, manifested about the time of the Spanish War, are condemned as imitations of foreign imperialism; and no essential distinction is made between these tendencies and the later idea of America's world leadership by peaceful methods—perhaps because the prerequisite of such leadership is the military defeat of nations which have initiated and, unless pacified, will again initiate world wars.

As a result of this kind of evaluative selection, a curious discrepancy is found between the heuristic principles quoted above and the restatement of the task of the book in the Preface, after the work was finished. A "world-view" is expected to answer the following question among others: "What are the responsibilities of the society in which I live to the world of societies in which this society has its function and its destiny?" (p. 2). If the idea of civilization is a world-view, it is supposed to show how all the questions concerning the individual and his world are "interrelated in the whole drama or epic of human history" (*ibid*). Whereas the Preface says: "This volume represents an effort to grasp the intellectual and moral qualities that Americans have deemed necessary to civilization in the United States" (p. v). Since it is obvious from the content of the book that the idea of civilization as expressed by American thinkers has been not only a view of civilization in the United States but a real world-view, embracing "all life, all human history," such a limitation of the scope of the book in the Preface can only mean that in the opinion of the authors American thinkers should not have been concerned with creating a world-view, only a view of

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civilization in the United States, leaving the rest of the world out of consideration. While the authors are willing to acknowledge some of the bonds which link American civilization with other civilizations in the past, they seem to condemn most of the attempts to link American civilization with other civilizations in the present and the future.

We may be mistaken: the evidence is not enough to reconstruct objectively the world-view of the authors. But it does seem to point to a philosophy of American history according to which the supreme value of American civilization lies in its uniqueness, and that this uniqueness can be maintained and developed only by making this civilization more and more self-sufficient and separated from other civilizations. If generalized as a world-view, such a philosophy would mean that the progress of mankind consists in developing a multiplicity of national civilizations, each of them not only unique but self-sufficient and politically isolated.

Such a philosophy would express the spirit of many old civilizations in periods of striving for cultural and social exclusiveness and a stable inner order. It would be one more revival, on a large scale, of Plato's dream of a perfect, closed society, with the difference that a modern thinker knows that perfection cannot be achieved, only approached, by an infinite struggle with imperfections.

Is such a view of American civilization logically consistent with the basic conception of the authors that civilization is essentially dynamic, growing and expanding in historical time by the creative powers of man? The most striking, distinctive trait of American civilization, as described by the authors in their total work, is that it is realizing to an unprecedented degree the ideal of unlimited creative expansion in every domain of material and spiritual culture. This ideal implies individualism, since it is the individual who is the creative agent—but an individualism extended to all, not merely to a professional or ethnic élite, an individualism in which every human being is a potential contributor to civilization, to whom freedom and opportunity should be granted and whose creative capacities should be developed. Since individual contributions can enter into a growing civilization only if synthesized and utilized by social groups, this ideal requires a group organization based on voluntary following of freely chosen leaders. Finally, since civilization can be destroyed and the most active forces of destruction are social forces manifested in con-

flicts between groups, these forces must be counteracted not merely by protective isolation of groups, but by progressive substitution of positive intergroup co-operation instead of conflict.

The Beards have conclusively shown that all these principles are inherent in the American spirit. It is hardly probable that the creative expansion of American civilization and the spread of American ideals by the initiative of the American people, having already transcended the bounds of the nation, will ever be restricted to these bounds. And it is difficult to understand why the authors seem to believe that such an expansion will be detrimental to the uniqueness of American civilization and that growing interaction with other civilizations will interfere with the progressive realization of American ideals within the nation. Unity does not imply uniformity. A nation whose entire history has manifested a growing power to absorb foreign human elements into its social structure and to utilize foreign values and patterns for the creative development of an original culture cannot possibly be disorganized or stopped in its progress by any "foreign influences."

FLORIAN ZNANIECKI

*University of Illinois*

*Intellectual America. Ideas on the March.* By OSCAR CARGILL. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941. Pp. xxi + 777. \$5.00.

This turbulent, encyclopedic, sometimes discursive and always stimulating book is offered as an initial study in ideodynamics. "Ideodynamics"—the word is Cargill's own—is conceived as the "descriptive study of ideologies and of the results of the forces which they exert." This volume, the first of two dealing with "intellectual America," is confined to the descriptive level of ideodynamics. It is not altogether clear how this new science differs from traditional histories of ideas which trace the intellectual antecedents of contemporary thought. As practiced by Cargill, it involves a classification of American writers and writings into schools which have been appreciably influenced by European ideologies. Ideologies presumably refer to any widely shared body of ideas, whether these are demonstrably associated with particular social segments of the population or not. Nor does Cargill systematically explore the psychological components of the diffusion of ideas. Symmetrically and impartially he derives naturalism, decadence and primitivism from the

French; Freudism, of course, from Vienna; absolutism from the Germans and liberalism from the English. These main currents of thought have canalized American letters. Examination of liberal and "leftist" ideologies is reserved for the second volume.

It would be reckless to attempt a summary of this book, but it can perhaps be briefly characterized. Cargill executes the task he has set himself with consummate skill; this is an incisive, critical account of contemporary American letters set against the background of European ideas. It exudes the enthusiasm of a pioneer charting anew familiar and not-so-familiar areas. Cargill has little truck with received opinions. His perspectives are incontestably his own. Master of the quick, summative phrase, he writes a prose which roars, sweeps, bounces along from page to page, scattering a profusion of *aperçus* by the way. He is an author in search of an epigram—and he finds it, in virtually every paragraph. Though the comparison may not prove palatable to Cargill, this work accredits him as a latter-day disciplined Huneker who has found his intellectual bearings.

As a contribution to the analysis of ideologies in their relation to social structure, the book is slight.

Cargill roves through a half-dozen literatures, always with a firm step and often, seven hundred pages of text notwithstanding, with economical tread. As a case in point, consider this compact note on Faulkner's *Soldier's Pay*: "The wantonness of fate is precisely what Faulkner has tried to suggest, but it is an inadvertent rather than a deliberate wantonness—not the *planned caprice* of Hardy but the *undesigned malice* of Conrad . . . [italics inserted]. Or consider Cargill's perceptiveness in defining the intellectual context in which Freud is given his place: "To the appeal of the Primitivism and Naturalism [and anarchism] of his philosophy Freud added, almost as an annex, the appeal of Decadence. . . . No other thinker combines so many of the subversive trends of contemporary thought in his philosophy as does Freud, and this may explain his profound influence upon, and diffusion through, the intellectual life of America." Here in bold strokes is a portrait of Freud which might well be an epigraph for an elaborate study of Freudism.

The chapter on "The Intelligentsia"—those who find escape from the hurly-burly of the world by flight into "pure intellectualism" and welcome the strong man who "settles" social difficulties by fiat—is perhaps the most sug-

gestive for the sociologist. Such divers figures as Artemus Ward and Irving Babbitt, Josh Billings, Bierce and Ingersoll, the iconoclast Brann, the splenetic sermonizer Mencken, the delicately scatological Cabell and the neo-medievalist Ralph Adams Cram—these and others of their respective kinds are convincingly assimilated to that school of cynics and debunkers who corrupted moral relativism into cynicism, a prelude to the decades of disillusionment and debunking, or to the group who took a further compensatory step in the direction of solid authoritarian tradition as a cure-all for ideological uncertainties and conflicts. In this chapter especially, there is reason to regret the lack of any sustained discussion of the relations between ideas and social structure.

Occasionally, facts are left high and dry while Cargill's opinions sweep triumphantly by. The following unguarded statements, for example, are set forth within the compass of two pages. The Italian Fascist state was "born out of the popularity of Nietzsche in that country"; the successes in Ethiopia, Spain, and Albania "probably weaned the last Italian away from the philosophy of Democratic Nationalism." We are also told that after the accession of Hitler, the "employment of all in the interests of the State and the taking of Germany out of the world economy of debts and their settlement made a far happier nation than had ever existed under the Republic" and that "the people recovered their health and optimism" in working for the absolute State. The attack of Russia on Finland is conceived as an onslaught on "its too prosperous democratic neighbor," a view which possibly ascribes too much to the motivating force of envy.

Readers of this first volume will eagerly await the second, and all the more so if Cargill rounds out his "ideodynamic" account by attending adequately to the sociological dimensions of his problem.

ROBERT K. MERTON

Columbia University

*Free Trade in Ideas.* By GLADYS MEYER. New York: King's Crown Press, 1941. Pp. 120. \$1.75.

This unpretentious essay illustrates the value of a sociological orientation to the history of ideas. Miss Meyer has seized upon an episode in the history of American liberalism—the episode being the liberalism of Benjamin Franklin during his Philadelphia career—to examine types of relations between social structure, social ex-

perience, and social thought. The result is an informative empirical essay in the sociology of knowledge which at once throws new light on old facts and testifies to the value of systematic theory in the analysis of historical materials. Miss Meyer does not write about theory; she uses it. This is no collection of ingenious and unrelated insights. Interpretation is not confused with speculation nor theoretic expectation with facts. Nor are facts coerced into uneasy agreement with theory. There is no labored effort to pass over the inconvenient fact in the interest of preserving the elegant theory.

In economical, close-packed fashion, the book describes the social structure of colonial Pennsylvania, its standardized goals and channels of mobility, Franklin's skilful manipulation of and adaptation to this structure and the process whereby this moulder of public opinion became both leader and follower. His developing liberal ideas are shown to be consistent with the practices and potentialities of the society in which he lived. The prudent, disciplined, rational, diligent, frugal, and socially mobile Franklin was indeed a prototype of the successful merchant class coming into its own in a nascent capitalistic society. And associated with this role was a well-adapted philosophy which comprised a responsible individualism, tolerance, utilitarianism, and social optimism (including, for good measure, faint stirrings of manifest destiny).

Only in one respect, and that a matter of emphasis, does Miss Meyer's interpretation seem questionable. To be sure, emphases in historical essays are delicate affairs, but they are not altogether a matter of taste. The characterization of Franklin as always the opportunist, the self-conscious manipulator of men and values, with his eye ever on the main chance, is not fully sustained by the evidence.

Not least valuable is the summary of the interrelated premises which entered into the structure of Franklin's liberalism. Rational self-interest, contractualism with its assumption of mutual benefit to all parties, universalism of the contract which knows no special loyalties, freedom of speech and of association are shown to be "meaningful" values in a community in which the expanding utilization of resources held forth promise for all.

It is to be hoped that Miss Meyer will continue her account with an analysis of liberalism in nineteenth century America.

ROBERT K. MERTON

Columbia University

*Net Impressions.* By A. G. KELLER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942. Pp. 349. \$3.75.

In the Preface the author startles the reader by announcing that "the pieces which make up this volume" are "opinions and inferences rather than demonstrations." Of all persons who write concerning the science of society, Keller is perhaps the last one who would be expected to announce at the outset of his book that "learned apparatus is renounced, and not without a sigh of relief."

The book contains a great many ideas which the author has already expressed in *The Science of Society* (Sumner and Keller) and in other writings. However, many of the "impressions" have been rewritten and developed in the last ten years and hence represent the ripe fruit of the author's thinking on a miscellany of topics.

The first nine chapters of the total of eighteen constitute almost a unit in themselves. They deal with what the author conceives to be the essence of the science of society. Again the author makes a surprising confession, for he admits the harboring of "an ever-heightened respect for the 'elaboration of the obvious'."

The method of social science is summed up as being "both plain and common sense," as the focusing of attention, as studying what "men have done," and as relying almost entirely on historic records. Special attention is given to the concept of adjustment. A value-judgment is urged, namely, that liberty of the individual must be accompanied by discipline. The liberty-discipline link is inescapable if society is to survive.

The remaining nine chapters treat varied topics. In the discussion of "numbers" the conclusion is reached that limitation of births is an "inevitable mode of adjustment." A long chapter on "What Is Happening to Religion" arrives at the conclusion that religion is losing (1) its power to confer peace of mind, and (2) its disciplinary function. In an analysis of sex differences the position is taken that woman's career-interest lies in the direction of marriage and the family.

The concluding chapter evaluates outstanding sociologists. It is to be anticipated that the author would place Sumner at the head of the list. A Gallup poll among sociologists today, however, would not give second, third, and fourth places to Spencer, Lippert, and Pareto, respectively. Gumplowicz, Letourneau, and Thurnwald occupy the next level. Ward is placed near the bottom of the ladder. Well



down the scale are Veblen, Small, and Giddings. The last mentioned, however, is given high rank as a teacher (perhaps lecturer would be a more accurate designation for Giddings). Throughout the book a virile, positive, and distinctive pen is wielded. Many readers will disagree with some of these "net impressions," but all will recognize honesty, clarity, rugged individuality, and an acknowledged indebtedness to William Graham Sumner.

E. S. BOGARDUS

*University of Southern California*

*Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race.* By M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU. Foreword by Aldous Huxley. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. xi + 216. \$2.25.

*Fair Play: An Introduction to Race and Group Relations.* By HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN and CHARLES GORDON POST. Poughkeepsie, New York: Vassar College, 1942. Pp. 43.

The volume of Montagu is, as the title implies, a vigorous attack on the whole concept of race—an attack not merely on the unscientific and pseudo-scientific writings of the H. S. Chamberlains, the Madison Grants, and contemporary Nazi racists, but also on those geneticists and anthropologists who continue to measure skulls and elaborate classifications about races and subraces without being concerned with the operative causes behind these "end-effects." It follows closely the view of Hogben, Haddon, and Huxley that living mankind constitutes a single species, having a single origin, and that existing physical variations are a consequence of inherent genetic variability and mutation modified by the secondary factors of ecological, natural, sexual, and social selection. The conventional anthropological method of averaging the characters of a given group is held to present us with a "race omelette" which "has no existence outside the statistical frying-pan in which it has been reduced by the heat of the anthropological imagination" (p. 32). In the interests of clear thinking, Montagu, like Huxley, believes that it would be preferable to abandon the concept of race altogether and to employ the noncommittal term "ethnic group" when referring to parts of the human population. The problem of ethnic variation would then appear as an ecological problem.

After disposing of the anthropological conception of race and examining the nature of the biological facts involved, the author goes on to

discuss the sociological and psychological factors in race feeling. He accepts the view that the race problem is essentially social and not biological, and that so-called racial groups are in reality castes. Race prejudice, however, is not purely sociological in origin but is to be regarded as a displacement of aggressiveness resulting from frustration—particularly childhood frustration. Hence he concludes that "race prejudice is ultimately merely the effect of an incompletely developed personality" (p. 94). The remaining chapters consider the "creative power of 'race' mixture" (due to heterosis), criticize some current eugenic fallacies, and discuss the relationship of racism to war and democracy. Despite some dogmatism of tone and occasional repetitions and inconsistencies in statement (as in the opening pages where he appears to affirm the existence of races: "In the biological sense there do, of course, exist races of mankind") this book is to be recommended as a useful addition to the growing literature offering a critique of the race concept. It is interestingly written, contains some valuable bibliographical references, and integrates well with the whole cultural approach in sociology. In fact, despite some confusion among sociologists on this subject, Montagu is not so far from us as he appears to believe.

The pamphlet by MacCracken and Post is a common-sense plea for tolerance in group relations. A few of its statements do not seem particularly relevant to their contexts, but the general outlook and conclusions, if not original, are certainly acceptable to most liberal-minded scholars of today.

EVERETT V. STONEQUIST

*Skidmore College*

*The Rôle of the Races in Our Future Civilization.*

Edited by HARRY W. LAIDLER. New York: League for Industrial Democracy, 1942. Pp. 112. \$0.50.

This pamphlet gives twenty-one addresses selected from those delivered at the League for Industrial Democracy Conference held on May 8 and 9, 1942. Among the contributors, Chinese, Negroes, Indians, and other racial and nationalistic groups are represented; and the speakers include, among others, professional writers, publicists, agitators, practicing politicians and statesmen, and anthropological scholars. The papers as printed are brief and, for the most part, express the points of view and unsupported opinions of the speakers. They make no direct contribution



to an understanding of race as a factor in the relation of peoples but, as a release of emotional tensions and as material for propaganda programs, they should serve a very useful purpose. To the scholar who seeks an understanding of racial realities, as well as to the administrator who must deal with racial phenomena at the political level, the pamphlet has some real value. It documents the level of understanding and the mode of thought that is current in this order of social reality. This is very important. The assumptions, opinions, prejudices, understandings, misunderstandings, and fixed ideas of the articulate as of the inarticulate members of the society are an essential part of the data in scientific social analysis and in practical administration. The League has performed a real service in making available this cross-section of popular thinking.

E. B. REUTER

University of Iowa

*The Negro of the Old South: A Bit of Period History.* By SUSAN B. EPPES. Macon, Georgia: J. W. Burke Publishing Company, 1941. Pp. xv + 203. \$2.00.

In this little book the authoress, herself a descendant of the aristocrats of the Old South, attempts to give "an idea of life as it was lived on the plantation of the wealthy planters of the Old South" prior to and after the freedom of the Negroes. It is dedicated to Lula, her old mammy.

The book is an interesting human document revealing the sentimental attitudes of a member of the aristocracy toward a long-decayed system and toward that segment of the Negroes who were close to the aristocrats by virtue of their tasks, but at the same time kept far apart. It portrays with some earnestness a familiar phenomenon of human ambivalence—love and hate, trust and distrust—and above all the attitude of nostalgic pathos that kept and maintained the social isolation between the two races.

It is useful to the sociologist largely for its revelation of the deep sentiments that sustain the conscious survivors of a period of Southern history that has been important in shaping the larger social and economic issues of the Nation's Number 1 Economic Problem.

CHARLES S. JOHNSON

Fisk University

*Minority Peoples in a Nation at War.* Edited by J. P. SHALLOO and DONALD YOUNG. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and*

*Social Science.* Philadelphia, September, 1942. Pp. viii + 276. \$2.00.

This is a timely collection of twenty-seven papers by as many different authors grouped under four main headings: The Need for National Solidarity; The Negro and the War; Minorities of Alien Origin; and The Treatment of Minorities in a Democracy. Most of the articles are descriptive of the situation of some group as it appears to an informed individual. In many cases the contributor is a member of the race or minority that he discusses, and a frankly partisan viewpoint is quite commonly taken. Little attempt is made at scientific analysis of basic problems. The value of the papers lies in providing a convenient summary of some of the things that have been happening to the various groups since Pearl Harbor, including the development of attitudes not always favorable to national solidarity, discrimination, segregation, military service, and employment in war industries.

THOMAS C. MCCORMICK

University of Wisconsin

*Baltimore, 1870-1900: Studies in Social History.* By CHARLES HIRSCHFELD. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. Pp. 176. \$1.50.

As a reading of the complete title indicates, this is not a comprehensive treatise on the life of Baltimore for the period covered. There are only four chapters. The first is a rather cursory discussion of the growth of population. One of the oldest and most conservative of the large cities of the country, Baltimore actually doubled in population from 1870-1900. A detailed analysis of the character of that increase would help us to understand the economic and social problems of the time. All we are given is a crude statement of age distribution here and there and an indication of the change in the type of foreign and domestic immigration into the city. The second chapter deals with industry. Here is a careful and colorful portrait of the low paid factory worker, the rise and decline of the Knights of Labor, and the rather tragic story of the sweatshops and child labor. Until the turn of the century most of the plants were small. Management was conservative and quite paternalistic. It was only around 1900 that the general trend toward consolidation and large scale production put an end to old-fashioned and provincial ways.

The third chapter dealing with public education is of genuine concern to the sociologist. Here

is the story of a large city whose educational system for three decades was almost completely under the control of politicians. It is quite probable that this explains why Baltimore was for years so backward in general community advancement. Appropriations, promotions, and even the course of study in the schools were dictated by a political Board of School Commissioners. During the thirty years the elementary school enrollment increased 174 percent but the high school roll gained only 76 percent while the total population increased 100 percent. In 1870 the high school students were 5.4 percent of the elementary while in 1900 the percentage had dropped to 3.2. This is a clear indication of the low level of educational attainment and is to be correlated with the high percentage of unskilled laborers. As late as 1900 nearly 20 percent of all youngsters aged 10-14 were breadwinners. At the same time 36 percent of all children 5-14 years of age were not in school. The turning point did not come until 1898 when a new city charter divorced the public schools from politics.

The last chapter is on charity and the title suits both the period and the facts. Here was a large city which probably had more relief and welfare problems per thousand population than any other, primarily because of the low wage scale. This was most noticeable in the 1893 crisis. Into this picture stepped philanthropy and, for its day, it made names and history. Under the leadership of President Daniel C. Gilman of the Johns Hopkins University the Charity Organization Society started crude social work. Its purpose was to relieve the destitute, shelter the homeless, and give medical care to the sick, but too often there was considerable proselyting due to the spiritual consolation which was dealt out with the food and fuel. Most important to students of social history is the group of intellectuals who initiated this Baltimore movement. Mention need only be made of Jeffrey R. Brackett, John Glenn, Mary E. Richmond, Kate McLane, Herbert B. Adams, and Richard T. Ely. All of these great pioneers did their work well in Baltimore and moved out into larger fields of opportunity. The great leadership of the Johns Hopkins University in charity and public welfare passed from the scene of action. It was not until the Social Security program of three decades later that the Monumental City got back into stride and then it was aided immeasurably by a federal law, not to mention appropriations. As a picture of the gas lamp era, Mr. Hirschfeld has not given us a very scholarly work, but he has presented us with

some excellent vignettes of public education and charity. Students of the development of public welfare will thoroughly enjoy them.

IVAN E. McDOUGLE

#### *Goucher College*

*Some Aspects of the Effect of the Dominant American Culture upon Children of Italian-Born Parents.* By JOSEPH W. TAIT. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 866, 1942. Pp. ix + 74. \$1.60.

This monograph is a contribution to the research literature in the field of culture contact and conflict. Students of human behavior have long been aware of the problems which children of immigrants face in their attempts to adjust to two conflicting culture patterns. These problems become particularly difficult to solve when membership in a specific minority or nationality group carries with it the stigma of imagined inferiority. It has been repeatedly suggested that the personal and social adjustment of children of parents who belong in such minority groups is dependent upon the degree to which cultural differences call forth from the dominant group discrimination and prejudice. In spite of the importance which has been attached to "culture conflict" as an explanation of behavior difficulties found in "second generations," it is surprising to find that so little systematic research has been done to test the adequacy of this explanation. Tait's monograph presents data which are directed toward this end.

The purpose of Tait's study was to determine how children of Italian-born parents are affected by the dominant American culture. The effect of this culture contact situation upon the personality of children was determined by several instruments designed to measure adjustment, ascendance-submission, socio-economic status, extroversion-introversion, emotional stability, intelligence, amount of bilingualism to which the child is subjected, inferiority feelings, attitude toward the foreign background, and rejection of foreign-born parents by American-born children. These tests were administered to a group of 734 Italian children, 11 to 15 years of age, attending five schools, with the following percentages of foreign enrollment: 100, 75, 55, 40, and 30. In addition, a group of 360 children of American-born parents with a similar age range were studied.

Amongst the more interesting of the findings reported are the following: The data collected suggested that Italian children are characterized

by a higher degree of inferiority feelings as they have more contacts with American children. It was also found that as the frequency of contact between Italian and American children decreased Italian children were likely to be somewhat better adjusted as well as slightly more emotionally stable.

Tait's study is an important contribution to our knowledge of a much discussed but little explored segment of the field of human behavior.

E. D. MONACHESI

University of Minnesota

*Marriage and the Family.* Edited by HOWARD BECKER and REUBEN HILL. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1942. Pp. 663. \$4.00.

This symposium, edited by two highly competent sociologists, includes contributions by the two editors, and by such well-known sociologists as Read Bain, James H. S. Bossard, Niles Carpenter, Kingsley Davis, Thomas D. Eliot, Mabel A. Elliott, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Joseph K. Folsom, Harriet R. Mowrer, and sixteen other persons. The latter include five additional sociologists, three economists, two doctors, one zoologist, two anthropologists, two educators and a professor of architecture.

The editors provide the reader with concise information on the contributors in a "Who's Who." Selected readings and topics for discussion are at the end of each chapter. The shift from sacred to secular behavior is suggested as a point around which many of the topics might be oriented.

The book is presented as a tool book, combining materials ordinarily found in preparation for marriage courses and in traditional family courses offered by sociology departments. The seven parts of the book deal with a history of marriage and family forms and the changes which have occurred in these forms: preparation for marriage—personality development as related to marriage, love, and courtship, assortative mating and engagement; an objective discussion of physical factors—heredity and eugenics, sexual anatomy, prenatal care and childbirth; marriage interaction and family administration—marriage adjustment, marital conflict, family income and budgeting, techniques of family administration, and housing; parent-child interaction, and religion; family crises, and data on divorce; and a discussion of family behavior in wartime, the declining birth rate, and the future of the family.

Those in charge of "marriage courses" should carefully examine this book with a view to its

adoption. Persons contemplating marriage will find in it a helpful guide to the understanding of the various situations which will confront them. To the teacher of a "traditional family course" the book presents the problem of whether such a course would be revitalized by including preparation for marriage materials. The book, integrating as it does the condensed views of eminent authorities in various fields, will be adopted by some as a textbook and by others as a valuable reference book.

HARVEY J. LOCKE

Indiana University

*Marriage and the Child.* By JAMES H. S. BOSSARD. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. Pp. xv + 178. \$2.00.

The volume is a collection of chapters, the content of which for the most part has already appeared in print. The first part contains a chapter on the historical development of modern attitudes with special reference to child welfare. The record chapter deals with the specific development of the child welfare movement and its implications for sociological research. The second part consists of six empirical studies of marriage dealing with the age factor, residential propinquity, group memberships, marriage selection, ecological areas in relation to marriage rates, and finally, with the effect of the depression on marriage rates. There follows a summary chapter. The book is essentially a record of a decade (1930-1940) of laborious research.

The first part is an eloquent attempt to describe scientific and humanitarian developments as converging to stress the importance of childhood and to carry emphasis nearer to the "inception of life." The organization of material is admirable but the reader is left with the uneasy feeling that a specialist in another field might have read the history of social reform a bit differently, perhaps in terms of growing participation by the state. The author likewise scores a near miss on the conception that social causation operates in cycles and circles rather than in a linear flow from the "inception of life." At the present time the book seems a bit oblivious to the darkening clouds of war, but we know from Bossard's other writings that he is quite up-to-date on this point.

The research reports contain many significant findings. Sociology has been enriched, for example, by knowledge concerning residential propinquity and of marriage rates. There are brilliant passages in the book rendering interpretations, tracing implications, and suggesting



future research. Yet one feels that the author is defensively apologetic at times for the laboriously objective and occasionally sterile work that he has done. He often sees some significant problems but is not able to come to grips with them from his data and by his methods. It may be significant that he makes no mention of the work of Terman, Burgess, and Cottrell.

The book is superbly written and a masterly job is done in the organizing of essentially heterogeneous material. It is perhaps unfortunate that a monograph from the author, too long and too much an organic unity for dissected periodical publication, did not enjoy the rare support given to the publication of research material in book form.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

University of Minnesota

*Population Problems.* By WARREN S. THOMPSON. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1942. Pp. xi + 471. \$4.00.

This well-known text was extensively reorganized and revised in the preparation of the third edition. The order of the chapters was changed and some material in previous editions was eliminated and replaced by new topics. The four chapters on the city which appeared in previous editions have been condensed into two chapters in this edition; the chapters on optimum population and industrialization and population in China have been omitted.

Internal migration which was only briefly discussed in previous editions now is the subject of an entire chapter. The space devoted to factors in the decline in the birth rate has been almost doubled and a section on the effect of war upon population growth has been added. In the reviewer's opinion, the long-time effects of war upon population growth have been somewhat over-emphasized in this rather brief treatment of the problem.

The discussion of the control of population growth with which previous editions ended has been replaced by two chapters concerning national population policies. Special attention is given to the policies of France, Belgium, Italy, Sweden, Russia, Germany, and Japan. The book closes with some reflections on a population policy for the United States.

The revisions introduced into this edition result in a more balanced presentation of population problems and bring problems of current interest into sharper focus. The discussion, as is quite proper, is built around topics of particular importance to the United States so that there

still is need for a more extended discussion of world-wide population problems.

Although there will be disagreement with some of the author's opinions and interpretations, this book still is pre-eminent in its field.

HAROLD F. DORN

U. S. Public Health Service

*Nation and Family: The Swedish Experiment in Democratic Family and Population Policy.* By ALVA MYRDAL. New York: Harper and Brothers. Pp. 441. \$4.00.

This book was published a little more than a year ago. Most of the manuscript was prepared in the United States, but was finished in Sweden during the summer of 1940. The preface of the book shows that the author, when she sent the manuscript back to the United States for printing in the fall of 1940, was much in doubt as to the mission of her book. The preface is appreciative. Mrs. Myrdal seems to have been inclined to believe, at the time she wrote it, that it was probable her book would be more a monument to a free North and a democratic Scandinavia than an outline for a program of action in a free society. Most Scandinavians would have felt the same way in the fall of 1940.

Today we know the outcome of the war with reasonable certainty and today Mrs. Myrdal's book is more important than it was the day she finished her manuscript or at the time when it was published. The book was not written as a post-war book but it nevertheless brings an important message and interesting program to all discussions on post-war social problems and ought to be consulted in connection with all post-war social security planning.

The sub-title of the book reads "The Swedish Experiment in Democratic Family and Population Policy." It gives a comprehensive and illuminating treatment of that phase of the development of modern Sweden which, in the opinion of this reviewer, will be regarded in the future as the most important one, and as more important than the Swedish economic policy: namely, the social consciousness of modern Sweden and its willingness to take up new problems and introduce new measures for the purpose of solving social problems.

It was in 1934 that Alva and Gunnar Myrdal published their book *Crisis in the Population Question* (*Kris i befolkningsfrågan*), which overnight made the modern population problem a main theme of public discussion not only in Sweden but also in the other Scandinavian countries. Special Danish and Norwegian editions of



the book were also published, and the governments of Sweden, Denmark, and Finland appointed committees to inquire into the population problem and suggest remedies for its solution. The enormous interest in the problem was due in part to the alarmingly low fertility rates of the Scandinavian countries, but was also to a large extent due to the fact that the remedies proposed by Alva and Gunnar Myrdal were exactly the type of social policies which at that time seemed to be the logical and rational next step to take in the development of the social policy of the Scandinavian democracies. The population problem, as the Myrdals treated it, became an important argument for a social policy which was already in itself very much wanted.

The basic contention in the Myrdal treatment of the population problem is that the modern urbanized family tries to avoid having many children on account of the increasing differential costs which childbearing and child raising involve in modern society. This of course was not a new idea of the author's nor has this thesis been conclusively proven, although considerable supporting evidence has been accumulated regarding this relationship. A basic value-premise for the Myrdals is that parenthood should be voluntary. Their program of action follows two main lines: (1) the dissemination of knowledge of contraceptive means, (2) the creation of such policies and conditions in society that families will again be willing to have the number of children necessary to guarantee the survival of the nation. A further main feature in the Swedish approach is that these benefits shall to a large extent be benefits in kind and not in cash. Benefits in kind are supposed to be preferable because they will not act as direct premiums on childbearing, they are supposed to guarantee a maximum result and have the further advantage of enabling coordination of social and economic means and policies. Typical of the benefits in kind suggested in the Swedish policy are large scale housing plans, nutritional programs, medical and educational programs, especially aimed at meeting the needs of families with many children.

The first 150 pages of Mrs. Myrdal's *Nation and Family* recapitulates much of the material in the original Myrdal book of 1934. The remaining and most important part of the book describes the provisions and plans in this field introduced or planned in Sweden during the years after that book was published. It is especially this part of the book that is of interest

now. Many of the programs never reached more than the planning stage and it is possible they never will. The execution of many of them was prevented by the outbreak of the war. The book therefore is more a presentation of ideas and plans than an analysis of what was actually done. As described in this book, however, these plans offer a comprehensive set of measures for a democratic population policy which according to the Myrdal point of view can be nothing else than a social policy at large, but which makes it necessary also to re-think all social objectives and programs.

Mrs. Myrdal undoubtedly regarded herself as a crusader when she wrote this book, and the spirit of the crusader is evident throughout it. No other Scandinavian had her special qualifications for writing this book. To American readers it will give the gist of important thinking and discussions on an important social problem in an advanced democracy.

ARNE SKAUG

*University of Wisconsin*

*The Meaning of Marriage and the Foundations of the Family: A Jewish Interpretation.* By SIDNEY E. GOLDSTEIN. New York: Block Publishing Company, 1942. Pp. 214. \$1.00.

This marriage manual fulfills well its main purpose of introducing "men and women to the treasure-house of Jewish experience, the laws, standards and ideals that have governed Israel during the centuries in the matter of marriage and family development." It should be of interest to sociologists who have too frequently only the vaguest ideas of Jewish domestic laws, betrothal, and marriage contracts, and ceremonies. One chapter describes the process by which polygamy, as a form of marriage practiced by the élite, gives way to monogamy as the ideal form for the Children of Israel. The author also shows how the emphasis Judaism has placed on the values of marriage and family life has enabled Jewish folk the world over to survive pogroms and persecution with a minimum of bitterness.

The author disagrees at some points with sociologists from whom he has borrowed liberally, e.g., he states that the college campus is no longer a satisfactory marriage market because of the immaturity of student courtships. Goldstein also deplors the survival among Jews of the *shadchan*, the marriage broker of ancient Judea, and states that he should be outlawed as an unnecessary evil who degrades marriage

to a sordid commercial transaction—this in the face of wistful suggestions by more than one sociologist that a modern equivalent of the *shodchan* might strengthen our faulty mate-finding machinery and perform a service in urban areas that young people can't perform for themselves. As to intermarriage, the author concludes that Jews should be endogamous if they wish marital happiness and if they are to survive ethnically.

The interpreters of the Talmudic-Rabbinic law see strong support for a program of planned parenthood through the use of contraceptives, Goldstein states, but only after the prior Rabbinical requirement of two children per family is met—population students please note.

In spite of occasional references to research studies the book has a distinctly religious bent. The occasional prayers and poetry sprinkled throughout add warmth and sympathy which should not interfere seriously with the enjoyment of the tract by the professional, and undoubtedly enhance its value for Jewish readers.

REUBEN HILL

University of South Dakota

*Jewish Emancipation Under Attack. Its Legal Recession Until the Present War.* By BERNARD DOV WEINRYB. Pamphlet Series No. 2. *Jews and the Post-War World*. Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems. New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1942. Pp. 95. \$.25.

A documentary record and interpretative summary of anti-Jewish legislation in the various countries of Europe from the time of the Versailles treaty up to the outbreak of the World War II. It covers the pre-Nazi period, the various stages of Nazi anti-Jewish legislation, and the expansion of the latter as the Nazis successively subjugated Austria, Bohemia-Moravia, Poland, the Baltic states, Rumania, Slovakia, Hungary, Italy, and Danzig. In this conspectus of the efflorescence and expansion of zoological anti-Semitism, Weinryb traces the gradual destruction of the painfully acquired Jewish emancipation (depicted in Pamphlet #1 of this series, *Jewish Emancipation* by R. Mahler), and emphasizes the parallel growth of reaction and anti-Semitism. There is an introductory chapter by A. G. Duker tracing the evolution of anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish legislation in the period from the French Revolution through the first World War.

EPHRAIM FISCHOFF

New York

*The Social Background of the Old Testament.*

By DAVID JACOBSON. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1942. Pp. 327. \$2.00.

Some of the most important studies in the field of the sociology of religion have been made of the Semitic peoples and especially of the Hebrews. The study by Dr. David Jacobson, who is a graduate of the Hebrew Union College, is an illustration within this general field. He has studied the origins and early stages of the development of some of the fundamental social institutions of the Hebrews. He has dealt especially with the period which was covered by the record of the Hebrew Scriptures. His general thesis falls within the basic notion of the forces and factors which were making for solidarity of the Hebrew people. He traced through the relationship of the mother and of the father, coming to the conclusion that "in the Hebrew civilization there seems to be no more justification for postulating mother-right than in our own." The dominance of the father is seen in many of the social institutions, and has much significance in the society as a whole. He treats the blood relationships of the Hebrews. He depicts the close solidarity of the patriarchal family groups and of the groups "enlarging from the family." His treatment of such topics as blood revenge relates this institution to the necessity for solidarity. "Even the dead were considered members of the blood community, and the living thought it necessary to resort to various types of ritual and sacrifice to draw close the bonds of kinship with the dead. Often an artificial kinship was devised—as with the eponymous heroes—in order to trace relationship" (p. 290).

The author has busied himself with the detailed treatment of the various topics which he has considered, leaving for the most part the task of more general interpretation to the reader. His work is carefully and painstakingly done, and the literature in each one of the fields has been carefully covered. This volume makes a valuable addition to the sociology of the Old Testament.

SAMUEL C. KINCHELOE

Chicago Theological Seminary and  
Divinity School, University of Chicago

*Studies in Political Science and Sociology.* University of Pennsylvania Bicentennial Conference. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941. Pp. 194.

In this heterogeneous collection of papers issued in connection with the Bicentennial cele-

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brations of the University of Pennsylvania, sociologists will be most interested in Louis Wirth's discussion of "The Present Position of Minorities in the United States." A clear conception of a "minority" is set forth and quantitative estimates are given of the present prevalence of minorities. Philip E. Moseley, historian, gives a succinct account of the "Repatriation of Greeks, Turks, and Bulgars after the Graeco-Turkish War, 1919-23," and quite properly remarks that "the principle of compulsory exchange is being extended, and is likely to be extended still further."

Several papers have to do with education, and of these the most valuable is by Mark A. May—"Falling Short of the Democratic Ideals in Education," in which there is a judicious summary of existing data.

Most of the volume is taken up with a long exposition by William E. Rappard of the influence of Pennsylvania's political institutions upon the modern Swiss Constitution. Hu Shih applies "instrumentalism" to the definition of key political concepts.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

Washington, D.C.

*A Latin American Speaks.* By LUIS QUINTANILLA. New York: Macmillan Company, 1943. Pp. ix + 268. \$2.50.

This spirited plea for an inter-American federation which will carry out and extend the ideals of Bolivar in 1826 contains much information about past interrelations of the American republics which should interest the people of the United States. The author, a member of the Mexican embassy at Washington and a Johns Hopkins Ph.D., succeeds largely—but not quite fully—in his endeavor to present a point of view fair to all the American nations. In the first five chapters, he points out the national defects and social injustices of (1) the United States and (2) the Latin American countries. He hits the nail on the head when pounding at us and a few more blows might make his case better still. My knowledge of Latin America, however, leads me to think that he needs to hammer harder at the Latin American nails, as I shall indicate later.

In the next five chapters, on Inter-America, he compares Bolivar's plan for inter-American solidarity with the Monroe Doctrine to the great disadvantage of the latter, which he says made no provision for the mutual protection of the Latin American republics and was itself merely the product of wishful thinking without power

of enforcement; while Bolivar's plan (sabotaged by the United States) called for mutual defense guarantees. Yet he incidentally discloses the fact that Bolivar was extremely hesitant about admitting the United States to his proposed confederation and preferred a union with Great Britain. This was a policy not only contrary to the Monroe Doctrine but also highly dangerous to the independence of the republics. He also accuses us of imperialistic exploitation of Latin American republics for 100 years, without even mentioning the fact that they have repeatedly violated the political integrity of one another, a practice which continues to the present moment. He also accuses our capitalists of robbing the Latin American people of their natural economic heritage and justifies the non-payment of Latin American government debts on this ground. He certainly must know that this fraud (it can be called nothing else), openly practiced by all but one of the Latin American governments upon private small investors in the United States by refusing to pay interest on bonds and by reducing interest rates to one-fourth or less, so that they may buy in their bonds at one-fifth to one-tenth of what the original investors paid for them, is not righteous retaliation against the international bankers who sold these bonds for the defrauding governments nor against the capitalists who exploit their natural resources. Surely the author knows that these promises to pay issued by the Latin American governments were bought in full faith in the integrity of those governments by our small investors who were thus seeking to care for old age, the education of their children, or other legitimate needs. We admit that our capitalists have exploited their resources—with the invitation and approval of their chosen rulers. Why does not the author admit the fraud practiced by Latin American governments upon our small private investors without their consent? Does he wish to say that this fraud is committed with the connivance of our government? One other matter that the author should have mentioned in speaking of the Monroe Doctrine is that the United States could not guarantee unconditionally the immunity of the Latin American states against European reprisals for defaulted loans and fraudulent practices until their peoples developed a sense of political responsibility and economic honesty. These they did not have. I mention these outstanding omissions from the author's very interesting work in order to enable him to do justice to the Latin Americans equal to that he so generously and rightly does to us.



The last four chapters of the book constitute an enthusiastic appeal for a continental union (1) incidentally against common enemies in Europe and Asia and (2) fundamentally for mutual helpfulness and advancement in common ends for the future. These chapters carry an excellent criticism of the totalitarian system and of its leaders and their policies. They also present some valuable, if commonplace, distinctions between democracy and the competing ideologies which many people even in this country seek to substitute for a culture based on social justice. Perhaps it was this excellent third division of the book which caused our amiable Vice-President to sit up all night in order to read the book and to write an enthusiastic blurb for it. Is it possible, however, that he nodded over some of the earlier chapters containing the omissions mentioned above?

L. L. BERNARD

*Washington University*

*Modern World Politics.* By THORSTEN V. KALJARVI and ASSOCIATES. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1942. Pp. xiii + 843. Text edition, \$3.75; trade edition, \$5.00.

This book, of twenty-eight chapters by eighteen contributors, seeks to be an objective, detached, and realistic presentation of the backgrounds and current trends in the present world situation (p. vii). It succeeds, in considerable measure, in attaining these ends. While it includes most of the traditional material usually found in books of this or similar title, this part of the treatment is much abridged. The distinctive feature of the book is that it includes excellent chapters on such subjects as the press, military and psychological warfare, present day military organization, the art of generalship, the new pseudo-science of geopolitics, technology and war; contemporary international espionage and fifth columnism, and international movements and secret organizations. In the two concluding chapters it tackles, in a sketchy manner, the problems of planning for peace and a new world order.

The book covers an enormous amount of ground. Unavoidably, most of the material must be presented in outline or survey form; some of it cannot help being somewhat inadequate. Furthermore, one runs into occasional generalizations that should be elaborated or qualified. Finally, a book on such a theme at a time when changes are occurring with such breath-taking tempo accumulates some lags between the time of composition and publication. On the whole, though, it is well-conceived and excel-

lently executed within the limitations imposed by its scope and plan. Both students and laymen will find it a concise source of a vast amount of timely, useful, and revealing information regarding the present tangled international situation.

J. O. HERTZLER

*University of Nebraska*

*Civilian Morale.* Second Yearbook of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. Edited by GOODWIN WATSON. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company for Reynal and Hitchcock, 1942. Pp. xii + 463. \$3.50.

In total war the traditional distinction between military and civilian life tends to disappear. The morale of the worker, citizen, and soldier alike becomes crucial to the winning of the war. Yet the newness of the wartime rôle of the civilian is such that we need an interpretation of the place of civilian morale in particular. This the present volume aims to give.

The book is divided into five parts. The first, on the theory of morale, consists of five chapters. In one of these the basic factors in building and maintaining morale are stated to be: defining the goal of our fighting, mutual support in war effort, knowledge of common dangers, the provision of something to do for everyone, and approaching the goal. Part Two deals with the manner in which morale develops. There is a chapter on morale and children, one dealing with youth problems, another on leadership. Two chapters deal with propaganda and morale, and news and morale, respectively. Part Three discusses "the state of American morale," as of early 1942. Samples are drawn from the public polls, from student opinion studies, and from data on attitudes among minorities, especially Jews and Negroes. There is an excellent chapter on morale in Canada. Part Four has to do with morale in industry but unfortunately the data are drawn almost entirely from conditions prior to our defense and wartime periods.

Finally, in Part Five, Gardner Murphy presents certain "essentials for a civilian morale program in American democracy." He points out the need for both facts and emotional drive to back up our morale. He says, in conclusion, "A morale program can be founded upon a Jeffersonian basis. The great morale needs have to do with apathy, skepticism, and inadequate health standards. These problems can be dealt with through a central federal morale agency. Failing this, the consolidation of morale work can be achieved through the co-operation of existing

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private services. In either case, a genuine morale service will be found to depend largely on carefully planned and oriented psychological research" (p. 436).

It is difficult to offer adequate comment on the work of the eighteen different contributors to this volume. As in the usual symposium the quality of the work varies with topic, data, and writer. Only one or two specific criticisms will be offered. As suggestive as they are, the application of the findings of Lewin, Bavelas, and G. Watson to wartime morale has yet to be demonstrated. It is a far cry from the laboratory, the small controlled-group experiment, or peace-time industry to the large and complex world of wartime economy. Also, the contention of Gardner Murphy that the problems of morale should be turned over to "a central federal morale agency" will bear serious examination. To preserve democracy it may well be that problems of civilian morale, in particular, should be handled by non-governmental organizations and groups. In periods of war even more than in those of peace it is very easy to assume that the political order is identical with the virtues as well as the vices of democracy. Both anthropology and social psychology seem to teach that the state is not coterminous nor identical with a society organized along democratic lines. Students of morale should recognize this, especially psychologists who derive most of their ideas from the laboratory or the nursery school.

KIMBALL YOUNG

Queens College

*Drives Toward War.* By EDWARD CHACE TOLMAN. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1942. Pp. xv + 118. \$1.25.

The author does not definitely connect drives with war until the last chapter, and the reviewer suspects that the "war" in the title is more or less an afterthought appended to an analysis of drives as the author sees them, possibly to help create a larger drive toward sales. At any rate, the author is long on drives and short on war.

The "biological drives" include the appetites (12 types) and the aversions (3 types), all of which are regarded as instinctively based. The "social techniques," ten in number, are classified as self-assertive, self-abusive, collective, and collective-assertive. These also the author believes have instinctive cores, which are built up through learning into nine "psychological dynamisms": fixation, repression, reaction-formation, introjection, symbolization, displacement,

identification with individuals, identification with groups, projection.

When biological drives are unsatisfied, repressed, or thwarted they are turned into self-abusive techniques plus repressed hostility and become the source of difficult personalities, rebels, sadists, criminals, and war-makers. In order to avoid such personalities and escape war it is necessary to see (1) that the biological drives have reasonable satisfaction (p. 102), (2) that individuals have better identification with parents and others in authority (p. 105), and (3) with a supranational group that will replace vindictive competitive nationalism (p. 107). The author even goes into details as to the best methods of producing such an overhead international federation (pp. 109-211). He calls his scheme for preventing war a Utopian dream, but he does not disbelieve in it on that account.

The reviewer's opinion is that the author went a long way around to find a major negative psychological cause of war—the repression of drives (learned and unlearned) but that he has arrived not wholly empty-handed, however much he slighted the more positive economic and other objective causes of armed conflict. Perhaps the psychoanalysts will be grateful to him for systematizing some of their naïve notions.

L. L. BERNARD

Washington University

*The Elements of Research.* (Rev. Ed.) By FREDERICK LAMSON WHITNEY. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942. Pp. xix + 497. \$3.75.

This volume has changed so slightly in approach, content, and organization, since its original publication in 1937 as scarcely to deserve the label of a revision. Almost no alterations occur in the text, and even the references have been left without major change. The chapter which gives evidence of least revision is that concerned with sociological types of research. Four appendixes have been added, but they consist largely of materials originally included in the chapter text.

Since the extent of revision has been slight, the evaluation of the first edition made in this journal (Raymond V. Bowers, *American Sociological Review*, 1938, 3, 131-132) remains valid. The general thesis of the book (that each investigation involves a sequence of steps from need to prediction) is sound, the conventional material of the research manual is covered, and the usefulness for educational research is considerable. But important errors of fact remain and the book is still likely to confuse most beginners,

because of the broad generalizations and the sketchiness of the treatment of specific research techniques. A major improvement would be a detailed analysis of some example of each kind of research which would reveal the steps in the complete procedures.

MAPHEUS SMITH

University of Kansas

*Principles of Anthropology.* By ELIOT DINSMORE CHAPPEL and CARLETON STEVENS COON. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1942. Pp. xi + 712. \$3.75.

The authors of this book wrote with the purpose of originating in set events to the public who are supposed to terminate to them. The meaning of the above statement may not be clear, but it is in the style and vocabulary that the authors have chosen. A few sample sentences, chosen at random from hundreds employing the same unfamiliar tongue, may be cited in confirmation:

"In some events more than one person responds to some one's origins."

"The set event categorizes people; they learn to originate in groups."

"Political institutions develop as a result of the extension of the external relations set in which one person becomes a leader and directs the actions of his followers in originating to outside groups."

"Parents originate to their children."

"These are the controlling factors in determining what individuals shall originate within the family group." (No, Reader, you have missed it; there is no reference to birth control.)

"In the Eskimo family males and females originate to each other with more or less equal frequency."

"The followers give the leader gifts in pair events and he distributes them back to the people in set events."

"In other institutions the class of terminators must be able to originate to Class A of the supervisory set, at least in pair events."

"Polygamy only occurs in societies where the male set is strong and in which the male can originate in set events to his wives and hope to keep some measure of peace."

It is tempting to prolong citations such as these but space is not to be wasted. The reading of such passages brings to mind certain strictures and criticisms that have been made

on our academic writing and also causes grave concern as to the present state of anthropology. As to the strictures, one thinks of John Buchan's verdict that much of the academic writing in America is a jargon that is hideous and almost meaningless, and of President Neilson's statement that the worst English written in America at present is put out by the sociologists and the writers on pedagogy, or "education." One wonders whether the authors of this book were not seeking the unenviable distinction of writing worse English than has ever been printed.

As to the state of anthropology, a science that has a dignified past and worthy achievements, what can be thought of its foundations when two men from a reputable school start out afresh, with a complete break from all the past traditions? If a book on chemistry should appear, ignoring the efforts of the men who have gone before and stating in unintelligible words (till duly translated) what they have conceived the science to be—if such a chemistry book should appear, the writers would be set down as charlatans. Anthropology surely is more securely founded than such a work as this would lead one to believe.

The reviewer would feel justified in declining to comment on the book until it is rendered into good English, but we may now pass to a word about the content, deservedly brief. There is praise for mathematics and the "operational method" in the opening chapter but all the mathematics one finds is comprised in the words "greater" and "less." As to "operational," there is only description and assertion. The authors insist at the beginning and at the end that the "known facts of physiology" are adequate for the explanation of one individual to another but little use is made beyond the assertion that emotion involves the hypothalamus and a misinterpretation of the concept of conditioned reflex.

There is a chapter on Environment and Technology in which "technique" is made to mean practically every habit or custom, even eating a meal together.

The third chapter is on the development of institutions; the fourth on symbols—continued in the fifth and last part, in which Van Gennep's little classic, *Les Rites de Passage*, is extensively quoted.

The reviewer does not feel the same confidence in explaining human nature as the authors profess, but one can be fairly certain that, whatever the controlling motive may have been, it was neither modesty nor humility. Nor

can the authors blame a reviewer if their book occasions an excitation of the hypothalamus with resulting emotions, not safely set down here. They have originated to me but I should like to originate to them in pair events and should fondly hope that they would terminate to me.

ELLSWORTH FARIS

*Lake Forest, Illinois*

*The Small Community: Foundation of Democratic Life.* By ARTHUR E. MORGAN. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942. Pp. xxi + 312. \$3.00.

Morgan's book is an argument in favor of the small community and its rehabilitation as a basic unit in modern society. The broad background of the author as a reclamation engineer, progressive educator, college president, and Tennessee Valley Administration Commissioner, makes the book all the more significant. One of Morgan's claims for the small community is its ability to preserve certain human qualities and transmit them to the life-stream of society through the early conditioning of children. The book is not a systematic treatise; it is an argument and a plea, an expression of convictions. So committed is Morgan to the value of the small community that he has organized Community Service, Inc., to give professional assistance, counsel and managerial aid in rehabilitating existing small communities or in the formation of new ones.

The first half of the book consists of Morgan's philosophy of the importance of the small community. The second half deals with community organization and community interests. There are "how to do" chapters on community design, a study of the community, community councils, community leadership. The chapter on community councils is better developed than the others and contains practical suggestions for community co-ordination and planning. The section on community interests includes several sketchy chapters on government and public relations, community economics, co-operatives, health, social services, recreation, social and cultural aspects of community life, community ethics, and the church in the community.

The treatise is not fully developed. In many places the author presents merely an introduction to his ideas. Many social scientists will thoroughly disagree with some of Morgan's statements; however, most readers will find op-

portunities for numerous "amens." The book is popularly written and deserves a wide reading, particularly among rural sociologists.

ROBERT A. POLSON

*Cornell University*

*Working with Rural Youth.* By EDMUND DES. BRUNNER. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942. Pp. xiii + 113. \$1.20.

Recognizing the plight of rural youth during the 'thirties, the American Youth Commission undertook an experiment "to promote and secure the actual use of the store of information assembled by many agencies regarding the conditions and needs of rural youth." Counties in Virginia, Georgia, Ohio, Michigan and Iowa were selected as the locale of the program. In all cases all organizations having information or special interest in rural youth in both the state and the county were asked to co-operate. Some leaders when asked to lend their assistance were skeptical, some jealous of other organizations than their own, some were opposed to the democratic procedure, and almost all were much surprised at being asked to play a co-operative part, using their own talents and the latent ability of the youth themselves.

The programs varied from county to county, though education, guidance and recreation received chief emphasis. Marked success was attained in some cases, less success in others. Classes in auto mechanics, woodworking, and welding were set up in one county, and at the end of eighteen months had trained over five hundred boys. In another county parties, dances, and movies were promoted especially for out-of-school youth. In fact, recreation generally took a prominent place.

An outstanding success was the Georgia program with headquarters at the University. Teams of youth went from the University to rural communities where youth groups were organized and discussion and recreation promoted. A ten-day institute for leadership training was held at the University in July 1941 with an attendance of 103. Definite programs were effected in the state by the returning youth. This experiment provided a technique that may be followed, for it showed that youth themselves have vast untapped resources, and that the adults learned to put confidence in the ability of the youth. What may be said of the Georgia experiment may be said of most of the other places.

The full results of such a program cannot be



measured any more than a teacher at the end of a school term can tell just what good his teaching has done. But this much is certain: the democratic method is practical in solving youth problems. This may well be remembered if and when the problem again arises to face us as it did during the 'thirties.

BRUCE L. MELVIN

*O.P.A., Dallas, Texas*

*Radio in the Classroom.* By A. S. BARR, H. L. EWBANK, and T. C. MCCORMICK. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1942. Pp. 203. \$2.00.

This is a report of the Wisconsin Research Project in School Broadcasting, "experimental studies in the production and classroom use of lessons broadcast by radio." It is the write-up of an investigation subsidized by The General Education Board with a grant of \$41,725, and conducted by a considerable group of workers. It included the preparation and broadcasting of a series of well-planned lessons in music, nature study, geography, social studies, English, and speech. There were control groups studying essentially the same materials in each of these fields, selected from what appeared to be the same types of populations. Both the listening and the control classes were furnished with teaching aids intended to stimulate the best feasible teaching by both radio and control groups. The numbers of radio and control classes utilized differed from one subject-field to another, but there was always a fair amount of replication—12 or more samples. Quantitative measurements were taken, and also impressions of teachers and pupils by questionnaire. Very few significant differences were found between the radio and the control groups. Even the few significant differences that were found split nearly evenly between those favoring the radio technique and those favoring local instruction. Thus on the surface the outcome appears to be "negative." But really in a more important sense it is positive. For the chief use of the radio promises to be to give aid where adequate local facilities are lacking; and if it can be shown that radio broadcasting can be substantially equal in effectiveness to good local teaching, then the state can set broadcasting up to fill in the local gaps. This may be a matter of major importance.

Both the instructional program and the measurement program were excellent. In the opinion of this reviewer, however, the study is marred

by an effort to apply a system of statistics not intended for this sort of application and not suitable for it. R. A. Fisher wrote chiefly for agricultural research. He says (*Statistical Methods*, 7th Ed., page 293): "With annual agricultural crops, to crop the experimental area in the previous year is nearly to double the labor of the experiment. What is often more serious, a year's delay is incurred before the result is made available. . . . It seems therefore to be always more profitable to lay down an adequately replicated experiment on untried land than to expend the time and labour available in exploring the irregularities of its fertility." So his system of statistics involves almost entirely comparison of random rather than correlated samples, particularly for the purpose of a preliminary survey of the data to ascertain whether there is enough promise of the presence of a law to justify a more precisely controlled study. But in educational and sociological research the equating measurements are usually available with no great inconvenience, and the authors of this study actually had them in hand in abundance. In educational research we gave up the random for the equated group method of experimentation 30 years ago. But, apparently confused by the furious lingo of the "new" statistics, a whole school of writers are urging the extension of this system of statistics into areas where its rough techniques are not needed because the means of more adequate control are available; and they even think they have made an improvement in "exactness." It has been our experience in educational research that the difference between groups in an uncontrolled experiment due to other factors than the experimental one are so great as often to cover up the real differences due to the experimental factor, so that we do not know where we stand. All of the comparisons made in this study are of the random rather than the controlled type, despite the erudite juggling. Since the authors state their intention to carry the investigation further, the reviewer would suggest that they re-work these same data by the more refined techniques of standard statistics, for which equally "exact" distributions are known, and see whether these better controls may change the story. Even if they do not change the story, they will bring the exposition out into the open where the authors can see clearly what they are doing and what assumptions they are making; and both the authors and the readers can evaluate the results critically.

CHARLES C. PETERS

*Pennsylvania State College*



*Problems of a Changing Social Order.* By JOHN M. GILLETTE and JAMES M. REINHARDT. New York: The American Book Company, 1942. Pp. iv + 824. \$4.00.

This textbook has three principal characteristics. It presents most of the traditional problems included in social problems books, such as over- and under-population, economic problems of poverty and dependency, unemployment, mental defectives, race antagonisms, marital adjustment, divorce, juvenile delinquency and crime, alcoholism, and the like. Second, it describes additional problems not commonly found in problem books, such as agricultural problems connected with external nature—soil destruction, insect pests, parasites on animals; and problems concerned with villages—plus declining population and the relative absence of social agencies enjoyed by urban people. Third, there is a superabundance of descriptive materials, considerable parts of which are only remotely related to conditions and situations evaluated as undesirable and consequently as problems. On the other hand, part of this descriptive material serves as a setting for the understanding of social problems.

HARVEY J. LOCKE

*Indiana University*

*Social Institutions in an Era of World Upheaval.*

By HARRY ELMER BARNES. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942. Pp. xviii + 927. \$4.00.

This volume is an appraisal of current American social institutions, with strong emphasis on changes and maladjustments, and on the necessity of modernizing and reconstructing them. It is divided into six parts. The first discusses the foundation, structure, and general crisis in institutions. Part II deals with the economic institutions of industry, capitalism and property. The third and longest part reviews the institutions of government and law, including a chapter on institutional aspects of war. Part IV describes modern communication agencies and the formation of public opinion. Family and community are briefly and rather inadequately dealt with in Part V. Part VI discusses religion, education, and recreational institutions.

More extensive than any other recent analysis of American institutions, Barnes's has the distinct advantage of being "up to the year" but it also has the permanent advantage of emphasizing the changing character of our institutions and the need for reconstruction (perhaps more correctly, construction), of our institutional sys-

tem. The book is rich in detail and is especially strong in the economic, political, and recreational fields. Another contribution, perhaps considered to be of dubious worth by some sociologists, is its use of a point of view that ranges over a little wider territory than is emphasized by conventional conceptions of sociology.

The specialists in institutional sociology will judge the book to be somewhat weak on the theoretical side, and rather too strongly inclined in the direction of analyzing institutional disorganization. Little in the way of permanent theoretical value is contributed to institutional sociology, except in the analysis of economic and political institutions. It is also in order to wonder why the more systematic American sociological studies of the entire field of institutions were almost completely ignored in the course of what is obviously a careful analysis.

MAPHEUS SMITH

*University of Kansas*

*America in Transition.* By JOHN A. KINNEMAN and RICHARD G. BROWNE. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1942. Pp. xv + 580. \$3.50.

This is another text prepared for use in introductory social science courses designed to give a survey of the contemporary society. A synthesis of the materials is provided by organizing them around the concept of social change which is considered the most conspicuous characteristic of contemporary society. In this respect it is superior to many similar texts which have appeared. Some general criticism of other such texts are also applicable to this one, however. The presentation of the material is necessarily superficial and many topics that some would include are omitted entirely.

Sociologists will find *America in Transition* somewhat unsatisfactory because it presents the historical picture of recent social change with little discussion of the implications of those changes. The organization of the material is sometimes quite misleading, i.e., folkways are discussed under "behavior in the cities" (p. 205), and "special pleading" is the only technique for controlling opinion which is defined as propaganda (p. 473). In other cases the presentations are so limited as to be misleading, i.e., no mention is made of the supply of goods as a factor producing inflation (p. 377).

In spite of its inadequacies, the instructor of a one semester survey course will find many things to recommend this volume in addition

to its integration around a single theme. Among them are: excellent charts, tables, and pictures; a good bibliography, and stimulating suggested activities with each chapter; and a very readable style. A new two column format decreases the bulk of the volume and makes for easy reading.

WILBUR BROOKOVER

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*Development of Collective Enterprise. Dynamics of an Emergent Economy.* By SEBA ELDRIDGE and Associates. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1943. Pp. viii + 577. \$4.50.

Eldridge is one of those sociologists whose research and teaching have combined scientific and practical interests. For a long time he has been interested in the factors associated with (a) an economy emphasizing scarcity, production, and profits, and with (b) an economy stressing plenty, consumption, and efficiency. He early became suspicious of the Marxian interpretation in terms of workers' interest and organization. Finally he enlisted the co-operation of 29 other scholars in an extensive study of 20 fields of enterprise to see if they could identify "the dynamics of socialization."

For the purposes of this study the definition of socialization is limited to "programs . . . designed to eliminate private investors as an economic class, and transfer capital ownership to some political unit or voluntary collective" (p. 12). "The general question is whether consumer pressure, or citizen pressure, or labor pressure, or some combination of these . . . has been the primary socializing force" (p. 13).

The study covered ten fields "already socialized," such as postal services, roads, libraries, and sewage disposal, and ten fields "undergoing socialization," such as electric power, housing, medical care, and insurance. Obviously there were great differences, but in general the collaborators seem justified in reporting that their "inquiry has uncovered no evidence that workers as an economic class have had any appreciable influence on processes of socialization . . ." (p. 542). They also successfully eliminate the managers and owners as major factors in collectivization.

But to this reviewer they are less convincing in their disposal of the "situational hypothesis" (p. 252). Thus they themselves recognize that collective provision of recreation has been associated with urbanism, industrialism, and decline in Puritanical notions of play. All this means that their conceptions of causation and their

techniques of establishing relationships leave something to be desired.

It is possible, however, that the greatest contribution of this book lies in method rather than in content. Here we have a group of scholars who worked together in planning and conducting an inquiry. Jointly they formulated their problem and hypothesis, defined their terms, outlined the scope of their task, and considered the kinds of evidence that might be used. Moreover, they carried their project to completion with a minimum of financial outlay. This in itself is a demonstration of "socialization"!

STUART A. QUEEN

*Washington University*

*Readings in the Social Control of Industry.*

Selected by a Committee of The American Economic Association. Philadelphia: The Blakiston Company, 1942. Pp. viii + 494. \$2.75.

This volume is noteworthy as marking the beginning of a venture in co-operation between a commercial publisher and a "learned society," the American Economic Association, in the interest of scholarship, but more especially of teaching. The project of reprinting, in complete form, recent articles in general demand for class and seminar use had been discussed in the Association for the better part of a decade, but apparently the initiative of business enterprise was required to start action. The Committee of Selection, appointed by the Executive Committee of the Association, consisted in this case of Professors Edgar M. Hoover, Jr., and Joel Dean. The Preface states that an agreement was entered into between the Association and the publisher that at least one such volume would be published annually for an initial term of five years, and that articles are being (April, 1942) selected for the second volume, on the theory of business cycles.

The Committee of Selection has, in the opinion of the reviewer, done a good job, from the standpoint of the objective in view. Of course different teachers will have different preferences, to some extent. Without going beyond the compass of a brief review, and dealing with matters which would have little interest for readers of this journal, not much comment can be offered on the content. Of the fifteen articles, dated from 1934 to 1940, four are from law journals, and four or five more bear titles which suggest legal as much as economic subject-matter. Only four deal with content which belongs definitely

to economics. Thus the book may also have significance in the connection much talked about, of breaking down, or bridging over, departmental lines, though at a point where this is especially easy and obviously demanded. It may be worth noting that no article included attempts to go far beyond the common-sense treatment of problems in terms of correcting undisputed evils, *i.e.*, into the moral or social-political premises which presumably underly public policy. As to sources, nine periodicals are represented, six by one article and three by three articles each. It will surely be a great convenience to teachers and students in this important field to have such a selection of material brought together in a serviceable and rather handsome volume. The price is moderate, and one may hope that this experiment will be welcomed and supported, and ultimately extended to other fields of knowledge.

FRANK H. KNIGHT

*The University of Chicago*

*Handbook of American Prisons and Reformatories. Vol. II, Pacific Coast States.* Edited by AUSTIN H. MACCORMICK. New York: Osborne Association, Inc., 1942. Pp. xxi + 455.

This is the best prison handbook that has ever come to the reviewer's attention. From the standpoint of progressive American penology it reports critically on six federal and seven state prisons in the Pacific Coast region.

After an excellent 55-page general statement about the Federal Prison System, attention is given to Alcatraz Island. Partly because it stands as "the symbol of crime control through fear of severe punishment," the Association recommends abandonment of "the Rock" and substitution of small but complete segregation units near Atlanta and Leavenworth. Although the many cage-like, 8-man cells at McNeil Island are not approved, such characteristics as its well-organized classification system, its training school for custodial officers, its excellent library, and its flourishing minimum security farm make McNeil the best example on the Coast of the high standards maintained by the U. S. Bureau of Prisons.

California's notorious San Quentin exhibits a progressive administrative attitude and a better inmate morale in August, 1941, than in March, 1940. More encouraging, however, is the new Institution for Men at Chino where career-man Kenyon J. Scudder is developing a reformatory for selected prisoners from San Quentin. It features trained "supervisors," dormitories for the inmates, and a forestry camp. In Washington, a

tradition-breaking governor has employed, as Supervisor of Public Institutions, Richard A. McGee, Editor of the *Prison World* and president of the American Prison Association, and is encouraging a set-up similar to that of the admirable New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies. Work in harvest fields within a radius of forty miles from the Reformatory and the Penitentiary and participation in minimum security reforestation and wood-cutting camps have been permitted for a substantial number of selected men. By way of contrast the Oregon State Penitentiary "continues to function as an example of old-fashioned penology."

With important administrative changes taking place in such ancient bastilles as San Quentin and Walla Walla, it would be of special interest to the sociologist to know what corresponding adjustments are occurring in the rôles played by such basic inmate types as the "outlaw" and the "politician." Unfortunately information on the shifting structure of the prisoner community does not come from visits lasting one or two days.

NORMAN S. HAYNER

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*Probation and Parole in Theory and Practice.*

By HELEN D. PIGEON. New York: National Probation Association, 1942. Pp. x + 420.

The book is designed to meet the need for a manual to be used by probation and parole workers in institute, extension, and in-service training courses. Its subject matter is more comprehensive than the title might imply, for, though probation and parole are treated, a considerably broader field is covered in the manual. Thus, the longest section of the book, dealing with the correctional program, is a brief condensation of the traditional materials of criminology textbooks. The chapters suffer somewhat from the attempt to cover in 180 pages a field which has been dealt with inadequately in several hundred. For those workers in the field who require limited familiarity with criminology and penology, Miss Pigeon's concentrated exposition should be helpful.

The manual includes a short section on the behavior of the individual, essaying to deal in a general way with the subject of personality. The reviewer believes the approach used to be unfortunate in its failure to consider the personality in any systematic fashion or to emphasize the developmental processes of delinquent behavior. The chapter consists mainly of short definitions of numerous psychological and psy-



chiatric terms, without the illustrative matter which might give it greater utility. It seems improbable that the case worker would be aided by a slight familiarity with concepts very briefly and, in some instances, inexactly defined.

The author deals at some length with the background and technique of social case work with useful suggestions on case recording, staff supervision and publicity relations. Here again it is felt that illustration by case analyses might

have served to point up and clarify the material. However, considering the need in the training of many probation and parole workers for a brief but comprehensive survey of the field, Miss Pigeon's manual will serve a very useful purpose. Too, her bibliographies provide a good foundation for further study.

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## BOOKNOTES

War Background Studies. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1942. No. 1. *Origin of the Far Eastern Civilizations: A Brief Handbook*. By CARL WHITING BISHOP. No. 2. *The Evolution of Nations*. By JOHN R. SWANTON. No. 3. *The Peoples of the Soviet Union*. By ALES HRDLICKA.

This series should prove welcome for condensed information on the background and cultural development of the peoples in war areas we know least about. Number one is excellent on the Far East. Number three on the Soviet Union is not as adequate as it might have been if the major theme had been the succession of cultures in the area, rather than racial and linguistic differentiations. Number two is an interesting anthropological approach to comparative government, drawing its examples from all over the world.

*German Philosophy and Politics*. (Rev. ed.) By JOHN DEWEY. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942. Pp. 149. \$2.00.

Sometime during the postwar reaction of the late 'twenties many of us heard about "Dewey's book on Germany," and gathered the impression that it was something written under the stress of Creel-engendered emotion. Few of us read it. The revised edition which, except for a new introduction, is the same as the 1915 version, clearly shows that Dewey has been maligned. Ashamed of some of his writings he should perhaps be, but certainly not of this calm, straightforward, and searching little volume. Those who have been trying to show that you can't account for Hitler simply by yelling "Versailles" should make certain that *German Philosophy and Politics*, revised edition, reaches the widest possible audience.

*Pageant of India*. By F. YEATS-BROWN. Philadelphia: Macrea-Smith Co., 1942. Pp. xii + 304. \$2.50.

Who now remembers *Lives of a Bengal Lancer*? Yet it deserved a better fate than to be Book-of-the-Monthed to oblivion, for it bore witness to a sincere attempt by a Britisher to live his way into

Hindu life. Yeats-Brown has now given us an equally sincere statement of the British case *re* Indian "independence." Those who have been fascinated by Gandhi's goat, ears, and Miss Slade, could do worse than give Yeats-Brown a hearing. Indeed, they might find that his fairness, intimate knowledge, and sense of responsibility make him remarkably persuasive. The lion can twist his own tail.

*Bibliography of Latin America, 1935-1938*. By J. J. BERLINER and STAFF. New York City: J. J. Berliner. Mimeographed.

Mimeographed bibliographies classified by country and topic issued annually covering periodicals and books. Latin American associations are also listed.

*The Other Americas through Films and Records*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942. 37 pages.

This is a good compilation of films and phonograph records available for classroom and other uses. This was prepared as a contribution to the better understanding of the other Americas, but it will also prove of use for specific courses dealing with the Latin American countries.

*Grass Roots Politics: National Voting Behavior of Typical States*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. ix. 195. \$3.00 cloth, \$2.50 paper.

This study of national voting behavior by Gosnell is one more monograph that can be placed in the mounting list of research studies that go beyond the sterile analysis of formal government into the naturalistic study of politics. Having said this, however, there is little else to say. The study is competently done and uses to good advantage existing statistical techniques; but there still exists the fear of over-easy generalization. The result of this fear is that the study is still time and place bound, and there is no clue as to the possibility of applying the generalizations derived so painfully, other than utilizing them to explain the data from which they emerged or to explain the voting behavior of the



states of which the states analyzed are assumed to be representative.

*The Mad Forties.* By GRACE ADAMS and EDWARD HUTTER. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942. Pp. 294. \$2.50.

About twenty years ago, Meade Minnegerode, inspired, no doubt, by the "gay nineties" vogue, marketed *The Fabulous Forties*. The book told the story of queer cults, Horace Greeley, patent medicines for "interrupted periods" (this was the 1840's, remember), and other marvels. In comparison, *The Mad Forties* comes off second best, in part because Adams and Hutter seem determined to prove their own sophistication, oh, so archly! on every page. As a compilation of some of the things that made the forties undeniably mad the book has its distinct merits, but the authors have gilded the lily.

*A History of Historical Writing.* Vols. I and II. By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON with the collaboration of BERNARD J. HOLM. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1942. Pp. xvi + 676; ix + 674. \$14.00.

This is a monumental enterprise, carried through with amazing industry and judgment. It should be noted, however, that Thompson not only died before the work was completed, but also that Bernard J. Holm, the collaborator who did the final editing and press supervision, wrote fifteen of the chapters in Volume II and portions of several others. It is a pity that some system of marks was not used which would have indicated clearly the precise allocation of responsibility. It is also unfortunate that in the midst of a wealth of footnotes and an elaborate system of abbreviated citation, it should have been thought necessary to make supercilious "once and for all" reference to Thompson's only important American competitors, Shotwell and Barnes.

A treatise of such dimensions and in parts having almost the character of an annotated bibliography obviously can be judged fairly only by those possessing specialized knowledge of the many fields covered. The verdict given by specialists is surprisingly favorable; although deficiencies can naturally be pointed out here and there, they are rarely more serious than mere omissions or over-brief treatment. Unless one is to write a whole library, such deficiencies are inevitable.

For sociologists, the book is not only valuable for its specific references but also because of its implicit methodological position. Thompson's conception of the historian is that of the man who deals with unique time-sequences in ways that reveal their particularity. Explicit generalization is taboo—as it should be if history is to fulfill its indispensable function. To be sure, Thompson—or in this case his alter ego, Holm—is singularly unaware of the justifiable ways in which history as history can be defended; the discussion of Lamprecht (Vol. II, pp. 422-28) is methodologically naive.

These volumes will undoubtedly find a place in every reference library; henceforth it will be unnecessary to send the student to Fueter, Bernheim, and similar handbooks.

*The Jews in Spain. Vol. I. A Political-Economic Study. Vol. II. A Socio-Cultural Study.* By ABRAHAM A. NEUMAN. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1942. Pp. xxi + 286; xi + 399.

This is a sober, closely detailed account based on the primary sources. The reader will at times have to work hard to keep from sinking in a quicksand of minute fact, but all books have the vices of their virtues.

*The English Yeoman under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts.* By MILDRED CAMPBELL. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942. Pp. xiii + 453. \$3.75.

In 1941 there appeared George C. Homans' *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century*, in some ways the best sociological monograph of recent years. The book now under review deals with a considerably later period, but the pace of social change was then slow, and at points it reads almost like a continuation of the Homans volume. In other places, however, it is obviously of orthodox historical character and will consequently have less interest for the sociologist. Disciplinary emphases disregarded, it is an excellent piece of work.

*English Social History.* By G. M. TREVELYAN. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1942. \$4.50.

Social history is a somewhat anomalous thing. Certainly Trevelyan's definition of what is left when political history and economic history have been sifted out is far from satisfying. Nevertheless, the book itself is fascinating, for seldom does one find combined an engaging style, a flair for the significant, and research ability. Sociologists in search of "light reading" that at the same time has professional value should sample works like this. They might learn that one of the reasons for the impotence of American sociology in the present crisis is American provincialism.

*Men and Ideas: An Informal History of Chinese Political Thought.* By LIN MOUSHENG. New York: John Day Co., 1942. Pp. xiv + 256. \$2.50.

From time to time there appear Chinese who attempt to boost the stock of the ancient worthies—Confucius, Mencius, *et al.*—by drawing direct parallels between them and Western thinkers. Liao's *The Individual and His Community* is such an effort; so also is Hsü's book on Confucius; Lin Yutang's recent anthology, so far as the "remarks" are concerned, is in the same class; and now we have a

whole history of Chinese social thought pervaded by the same fallacy. What fallacy? Simply this: The effort to make direct "East-meets-West" comparisons while at the same time ignoring or distorting the contexts which alone lend full meaning to the theories considered. Against this uncritical Westernizing, Granet's *La Pensée chinoise* is still the best antidote.

*A History of Science.* By SIR WILLIAM DAMPIER. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1942. \$2.95.

In this third revised edition of a standard history of science, the same merits and the same defects reappear. Dampier's (formally Dampier-Whetham) competence is primarily in physics, and as one might expect, his presentation is very strong in this field. Indeed, it is almost a case of "Eclipse first, the rest nowhere." Chemistry is at least six lengths behind, and biology, psychology, and genetics don't even get into the home-stretch before the winner flashes by the judges' stand. Anthropology starts, but turns out to be a quarter-horse. To drop the figure: The conception of science is narrow and the coverage is very spotty indeed. The Polonius-like treatment of the questions of religion and philosophy is so flatulent that it is the part of courtesy to ignore it. But once again, those parts dealing with physics are first-rate!

*Man's Poor Relations.* By EARNEST HOOTON. New York: Doubleday, Doran, and Co., 1942. Pp. xl + 412. \$5.00.

Here is a work which shows Hooton at his best; for once he has succeeded in popularizing without giving an imitation of a submissive member of the hamadryas tribe. Anthropologists and sociologists will be especially interested, for nowhere under one cover is to be found so well-organized and complete a presentation of what is now known about the primates. Further, the photographs which stud the book are very well chosen, and the drawings which enable the ready comparison of the various primates with each other are exceedingly valuable.

*Children Above 180 IQ.* By LETA S. HOLLINGWORTH. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York:

World Book Company, 1942. Pp. xvii + 332.

This is a posthumous report on a case-history study of the twelve children who tested at or above 180 IQ whom Leta S. Hollingworth was able to locate during twenty-three years of somewhat desultory effort. The three introductory chapters and reports on five of the cases are as she had written them up for publication. The remaining seven cases were prepared, apparently by Harry L. Hollingworth, from data in her files. The addition of these twelve cases to the literature on gifted children will no doubt be welcomed by those who follow the Galton-Binet tradition.

*Culture Element Distributions: XIV. Northern Paiute.* By OMER C. STEWART. *Anthropological Records*. Vol. IV, No. 3. Berkeley, California, 1941.

This is a continuation of studies in the distribution of culture elements among various Indian groups, carried on by the Department of Anthropology at the University of California.

*Liberty and Learning.* By DAVID EDISON BUNTING. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs. Pp. viii + 147.

The present war is a threat to our Bill of Rights. It is stupid to say that we have both the war and freedom of speech, because our freedom of thinking and expression are being increasingly infringed upon. The only militant organization that is defending the Bill of Rights at the present time is the American Civil Liberties Union. This monograph by Dean Bunting describes the activities of the Union in behalf of freedom of education in the United States during the last twenty-two years. As a comprehensive history of those activities it is invaluable to every college and university teacher who is interested in academic freedom. There are interesting chapters on the philosophy of educational freedom, on restrictions on teachers, and on curbs on the curriculum. The book demonstrates, for one thing, that the battle for freedom of education in the United States is not yet won, despite the splendid activities of the Civil Liberties Union in defense of this freedom.